

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 6, 1993 \$2.50

# FAMILY FEUD

.....

**The McCains  
are fighting  
about who will  
reign over their  
global food  
empire. Will it  
wind up being  
an outsider?**



**Harrison McCain**

**Wallace McCain**



# Legendary

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Saturday, October 10, 1997



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**SILENT SAM**

THE INVISIBLE VODKA

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 5, 1999 VOL. 106 NO. 35

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## Family feud

**32** In 1986, Harrison and Wallace McCain built a frozen french-fries plant in their tiny home town of Portmoresville, N.B. Over the next 13 decades, the two brothers built a \$3-billion global frozen food empire that they supervised from adjoining offices in the plant. But last week, Wallace filed a lawsuit alleging that Harrison was trying to push him out of the company, casting a cloud of uncertainty over one of Canada's largest family fortunes

## Sarajevo diary

**24** Death threats, exploding politicians through the roof of mortar fire and witnessing the slaughter of civilians was part of daily life for Canadian Forces Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie when he commanded a UN mission in Sarajevo last year. Exclusive excerpts from his memoirs also show the outspokenness that infuriated MacKenzie's UN political masters.



## Kids, clothes and conformity

**44** For Canadian teens of means, rifling through racks for cool clothing is part of the annual ritual of returning to classes. The back-to-school selection ranges from color-coordinated hip bag gear to frilly frocks and skirts that harken back to the days of Edwardian dandies. The common theme is the peeler: students can easily drop hundreds of dollars to put together a single outfit





# LETTERS

## Asset transfer

Of course, the youngest promoter can be saved. ("Newfoundland: can the province be saved?" *Cover/Special Report*, Aug. 23). The solution to this problem is so simple: The key would be to have Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells run as an independent for the office of prime minister. Then, help regain the self-esteem of Newfoundlanders by placing them in the Atlantic time zone so they can go to bed at the same time as the rest of Canada. And among other things, move all federal government offices to St. John's, the natural focus headquarters to Corner Brook and the Super Agency head quarters to Corner Bay Chamber. Reorganize all hydroelectric power deals between Quebec and Newfoundland. As a writer from a private credit capital who knows the social deprivation of not having even a CIBC credit, I will promise to vote for Clyde and will assure him of a lot of willing readers.

Arthur Knight,  
Pembroke

## 'Cod collapse'

In the cover story we learn that federal scientists are still trying to determine the cause of the cod collapse. I suggest that they stop wasting their time and our money. Like many environmental disasters, the decimation of the Atlantic fish stocks is indication that human numbers and greed have exceeded the planet's carrying capacity. Newfoundlanders who leave the flock join a growing global tide of environmentally refugees. When do we start accepting responsibility for our impact?

Dr. Thomas DeMarco,  
Whitby, B.C.



Newfoundland port: self-esteem

An important aspect of the character of Newfoundlanders that was not highlighted in your discussion of Canada's youngest province is the very giving nature of its people. According to the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, Newfoundlanders are the most generous Canadians. In 1991, residents gave an average of \$200 per person compared with \$120 per person in Ontario, \$150 per person in British Columbia and \$80 per person in Quebec. There is a lot we can learn from those who are so rich in spirit and kind as are Newfoundlanders.

Celia P. Dawson,  
Gloucester, Ont.

## Good Guides

I was extremely upset to read the article "A modern story" (*Travels*, Aug. 3). I felt that your attitude towards the international Girl Guide camp held in Guelph, Ont., this past July was very negative. Although money is needed for camps and programs, your article made it look as though the Girl Guides organization was cheating girls out of the profits made by the selling of cookies. Girls in my area have been chosen to attend camps all over Canada and some parts of the world. Our unit has helped to cover the largest portion of these travel expenses and camp fees. It is in

facture that your article did not cover the positive aspects of Guelph 90. It was a great opportunity to meet other girls from around the world who share common interests.

Christie Howlett,  
Lower Sackville, N.S.

## Nightcap

Your editorial "One them back the night" was right on (Aug. 16). I don't like the timing precisely at 10:22, but I did make the popcorn news rights at 9:15 for my wife and I to enjoy with *The National* (*The Journal*). The 9 p.m. time slot is too early, interfere with too many other activities and is rarely watched in my house any more. If it ain't broke, don't fix it.

Guent Mauer,  
Fitchburg, Ont.

## Clear-cut view

Peter C. Newman and the people who share his beliefs about seeing the trees need to open their eyes to the world and see that there are many more worthy causes to get excited about, such as the preservation of human lives. ("Trees are irreplaceable, but forests are not," *Business Watch*, Aug. 28). It is not just to see tremendous destruction on every continent, but I do believe that cutting trees is essential to the economic health of this country. What do these special preservationists expect us to do? Come on, people! Let's get real. These are trees we are talking about, they grow back.

Steven W. Malachuk Jr.,  
Nelson, B.C.

Peter C. Newman is correct. If any part of these thousand-year-old forests is destroyed, Canada and MacMillan Bloedel will suffer the environmental onlookers in the eyes of the world.

Wesley McLaughlin,  
Winnipeg

Letters may be condensed. Please include name, address and daytime telephone. Please include in the address MacMillan's magazine, *Business Watch*, 200 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 3A7. Or fax: (416) 298-7722.

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW



## Death by the side of Highway 74

BY FRED BRUNING

These cramped United States is said for human habitation surely will have their suspense confirmed by the murder of James Jordan, brother of Michael Jordan, perhaps the world's most famous athlete and, as such, an increasingly wealthy man. Travelling in North Carolina, the elder Jordan was killed by a single round from a .38 pistol as he rested in his luxury car at the roadside. In custody are two 18-year-olds—fellows with criminal records who were tracked down, police said, partly because they used James Jordan's cellular phone to make calls to a sex-talk line.

What more telling tableau of modern American life can be imagined than this incredibly generous? The shockwave whose resources cannot protect him from single personal loss, the family and family as rethinkable as (Leona's son), the easily available handgun, the teenage tough guys, the trendy electronic communications and, get it, the convenience of sex delivered in its own and by radio wave, the random quality of the murder itself—all all this out in New York or Hollywood, by the way, but in backwoods, backwoods Ohio.

The reputation left by the James Jordan in this is that violence and crime and a frightening criminal history before the law, and maybe they do. As the century grows toward conclusion, Americans indeed are preoccupied with crime and punishment and with what a generally condemned a person decline in civil behavior. We sense danger everywhere and it happens as, rarely, we run from one another, envelops as it is, something sacred as that only grows and grows. Where will it end?

If the nation suffers increasing fits of paranoia, it is a largely because of shreds disintegrating that random murder can occur in an innocuous place like Lumberton, N.C., the killing ground of James Jordan. Having at

*How do you protect yourself from a couple of whacked-out kids with nothing better to do than hide in the bushes with a .38?*

invaded a forest in Wilmington, N.C., Jordan, 58, was driving late at night toward Charlotte and home. He grew weary and turned onto the shoulder of U.S. Highway 74 near latitude 35. The spot was only 300 m from a motel and must have seemed safe enough (Jordan left his passenger side window down).

At approximately 3:30 a.m., police say, Larry Denney and David Greco approached intending to do some serious business. James Jordan was sleeping in one street vehicle, all right, red and loaded with accessories. To some, the sight of such a place is open invitation to felonious mischief, or worse. You see it next car, what the hell, you rob the owner and maybe you take the wheels, too. The dude gets hurt, then his tough luck. Luckily, the unsuspecting James Jordan had no such luck. A lawyer, Larry Denney admitted belatedly that Jordan was dead when the teenagers looked into the car but authorities deemed the claim. The two friends, cop say, that Jordan through the open window when he started their drive.

Without delay, the suspects began chasing several Lumberton County and making calls to last killing business. The two teenagers, 18, 18, the teen boys. Jordan in the 1990s, the terms subsequently made a virtue to shield.

cast their caper, authorities say. On the tape, police report, Denney is seen waving James Jordan's pull chain. Greco flashes a National Basketball Association championship ring sent to Jordan by his son.

And yet the killing of James Jordan appears unrelated to the proximity of his renowned offspring or to Michael Jordan's well-publicized move to the big screen. Michael Jordan, a top selling partner would a book chronicling Jordan dropped more than \$1 million to Wiggins—Jordan says it was only \$300,000—and other accounts document the star's floundering betting habits and association with questionable characters. Jordan religiously disavowed only media speculation about a link between gambling and the courier of his father but questions were obvious and unavoidable. When big money is on the line, danger often attends. It is as if on special comfort that the dining on Highway 74 proved of a more serious strain, specific only to the crime of greed and stupid violence and cheap thrills that has killed the emotional discomfort in the coast to coast.

So far as can be told, the assassins hadn't the faintest notion that the driver of the red Lexus was the father of the Chicago Bulls' incomparable superstar—Michael Jordan. Though he is famous around the world, Michael Jordan isn't from North Carolina and played ball at the Chapel Hill campus of the state university and, of course, is particularly revered in Tarboro territory. How astonishing that of all the victims they might have encountered, the killing happened upon a man at the side of the road whose son is as much well to North Carolina folklore as a basketball and ball game.

Indeed, say police, the teenage highway men were acting entirely out of ignorance—that is, the attackers had no reason to think that if they had waited patiently enough the lot of a celebrity would show up. The two were simply wanted trouble that night, and a pro-guy James Jordan unwittingly absorbed them as opportunity. "The intent of the two suspects was to kill us surely," said an officer. "There was no special intent." The thought is as was: no, no, no, no, no. How do you protect your self against something like this—a violent explosion far from, against the whims of a couple of whacked-out kids with nothing better to do than hide in the bushes with a .38? Denney and Greco, improbably, claim that they claimed James Jordan in a danger beyond its own actual boundaries. In the extreme, it can paralyze a person and pose more a threat than a crime fiction design. What good is freedom if we are too frightened to exercise its franchise? What good is the open road if we won't venture out at all? The idea is to stop crime and increase the odds, outlaw some crime, remove the last children of this generation, get a grip on what exists next. Stock cars, mobile phones and sex working are not the elements of natural purpose or personal satisfaction. From the night of the killing, Michael Jordan should spread the word. Respect yourself. Honor life. Leave the past to hate.

Fred Bruning is a writer with Newsday in New York.

## GRIM TIDINGS



Campbell arriving at his reelection meeting in Vancouver Centre last week. Her Jalaxy image shows signs of fraying.

CAMPAIGN '93

far from auspicious. In Ottawa, the Conservative Board of Canada cautioned that the country is "adrift in a lifeless recovery" that will likely approve only slightly in 1994. Quebec's largest business group, the Conseil du Patrimoine (Council of Employers), then issued a report painting the province's true unemployment rate—the total of those receiving unemployment insurance or other social benefits—at 22.6 per cent, or more

than 850,000 people. Meanwhile, a Statistics Canada study revealed that in 1991, the most recent year for which it has figures, more than a third of all non-patent families in the country received unemployment insurance benefits. As if it's not enough, the political message behind those dismal figures, *The Toronto Star* published the findings of the government's own poll of Canadians, conducted in April. The bad news for Conservatives: only two per cent of respondents agreed with the statement that the government has an economic plan that is working.

When the Conservatives begin plotting their election campaign a year ago, their expectations were much more rosy. By mid-

1993, party supporters believed, Canada would be showing obvious signs of recovery from the three-year-old recession—and grateful voters would give credit to the Tories and their free-market policies. Instead, in the eye of the campaign, the economy is still sliding fast, particularly in the two most vote-rich provinces, Quebec and Ontario. Small wonder, then, that Prime Minister Kim Campbell visited Toronto last week in order to solicit in as much of potential supporters and business leaders. But in a speech that broke little new ground, even her words of comfort were couched in caution. Said Campbell: "There are new industries and firms being created by the hundreds, but that renewal and

growth will take time." More to the point, she promised no tax increases, and repeated her commitment to erase the federal deficit, now \$35 billion, within five years.

Now that the long political year preceding the campaign is drawing to a close, such as the federal parties is being pressure to offer more specific economic remedies. "The issues of this election are the economy and jobs," says Industry and Science Minister Jean Charest, who will be the Tories' most active spokesman in Quebec. "And that's the case everywhere in Canada, whether we're talking about Illinois or Red Deer." So far, though, the Liberals have been faster off the mark. Under a leader Jean Charest and in mid-August, that his party would help small businesses by closing credit and creating an investment fund for leading-edge companies in such fields as medical research and computer software development. The Liberal leader also promised to "accelerate the recovery" with a massive spending program to improve roads, bridges, sewers and other public facilities.

Charest's announcements thus trace a key difference between the two parties. The Liberals say that government intervention is essential in economic recovery, while the Tories insist that the economy will rebound properly only if left alone. Both parties agree that case strongly—but the Tories must contend with the fact that a hands-off approach is harder to sell to voters. Campbell's Toronto speech, for one, was sprinkled with shopworn phrases: the importance of "getting the basics right," all spending money "more smartly" and "building infrastructure" with business, labor and other levels of government. She offered little in the way of new programs—and even fewer commitments on funding for them.

Despite those shortcomings, the Tories insist that their approach will fail less with the public. Voters, they say, are suspicious of anyone who appears to be offering easy answers to complex problems. "Canadians are really quite uncomfortable with the old shibboleths, the old assurance answers," said International Trade Minister Tom Iltis. "They find you more credible if you talk about six months-to-one things that speak to the problems where they live." Privately, however, some Tory warriors who have converted door-to-door for the party question the wisdom of that strategy. They

say that voters are looking for specific proposals to create jobs—and that the lack of such initiatives by the government is a cause for complaint.

In fact, the Conservative electoral program under Kim Campbell is almost unthinkably far from the one that seemed when Jean Mulroney led the party. The broad strokes of the economic policies that Campbell announced in Toronto were originally contained in a three-page speech prepared for Mulroney earlier this year, before he made public his decision to resign. The three-page speech, which was never used, also included the basic elements of a law-and-order speech that Campbell is scheduled to deliver in Edmonton this week. One senior Tory organizer complains that Mulroney and his advisers were responsible for closing credit and the party's current election platform. "We believe," the organizer said, "that people may doubt the case, but not the policies."

For much the same reason, the direction that many Tories used to profess towards Mulroney has become "let him do it, don't speak up about it." Last fall, when Ottawa was rife with speculation about Mulroney's future, most of his key ministers—including Campbell—publicly implied him to lead them into the next election, but since the start of the leadership campaign in March, Campbell and other senior Tories have rarely even mentioned Mulroney by name. Asked about him last week, Campbell replied simply: "The campaign is about the future."

Lacking any significant new policies with which to dazzle voters, the Conservatives seem to be taking a leaf from their counterparts in

Britain and the United States. In both countries, fiscally conservative governments fought elections recently in which they tried to turn the national debate away from the problem of unemployment and slow growth, and towards their rivals' financial mismanagement. Both Prime Minister John Major and then-President George Bush sought to portray their opponents as second-rate liberals whose policies would damage the economy. In the end, Bush lost while Major won—largely because of his tactics in distancing himself from a powerful and deeply unpopular predecessor, Margaret Thatcher.

The Tories will also focus on an issue in which they now score significantly better than any of the other parties. "The name of this election is jobs, jobs, jobs," was a constant refrain at a meeting among Tories at the close of a two-day caucus meeting in Ottawa last week. In separate interviews, Public Security Minister Doug Lewis and Toronto-area backbencher Donald Borkman each

## Canada Notes

## NEW MEDICARE LIFELINES

Starting next year, British Columbia will have to pay for their own medical bills when the services they seek are deemed unnecessary according to clinical guidelines. The province will formally limit coverage to procedures that it deems as necessary.

## MORE FISHERIES CLOSURES

The Fisheries Resource Conservation Council recommended the closure of several more fishing grounds in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean as well as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The council, which includes fishing industry representatives, scientists and government officials, said that the measure is needed to protect stocks of groundfish such as cod, plaice and haddock.

## SOMALI COMPENSATION

The defence department in Ottawa acknowledged paying \$13,750 in compensation to the family of Shidane Arsi, who died on March 16 in Canadian custody in Somalia. Two members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment had second-degree murder and torture charges related to Arsi's death. Two other officers are charged with torture and negligent performance of duty.

## SHAKING A CLAIM

Three Indian bands living near Vancouver Island's Clayoquot Sound plan to seek court injunction to halt logging in the region's old-growth rain forest until their land claims are settled.

## UNDERGROUND MEDICAL KILLINGS

A survey conducted by the Canadian Medical Association indicates that 80 per cent of doctors favor legalizing some form of euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide. Dr. David L. Hawrylyk of health policy for the Ontario Medical Association, said reporters that doctors already defy the Criminal Code by practicing euthanasia "on a daily basis." Added Hawrylyk: "Doctors are doing it, entirely underground and entirely unregulated."

## CHOOSING WILDLIFE OVER WORK

An Ontario woman spent a controversy by announcing that she has quit her \$41,250-a-year civil service job to collect wolf fur. Holly Hedges said that she took the action to protect her wolf, an endangered species, and to help her wolf by collecting wolf fur. She said she was not collecting wolf fur to sell but to help her wolf by collecting wolf fur.

employed the phrase. Campaign chairman John Tory used the same words in a meeting with reporters.

But the party's strategy of building the campaign around Campbell's life risks Steve wearing the leadership to June, who has benefited from generally positive media coverage—which is unlikely to carry over into the actual campaign. Some of that coverage has focused on the perception of her as a young leader even though, at 46, she is older than either Mulroney and Joe Clark when they became leaders. The shortened election cycle has her favorite about the election—the two-week—which has not been in vogue since the early 1980s—is cited, reasonably, as evidence of youthfulness. In fact, it probably says more about the ageing members of the Ontario press gallery than about Campbell herself.

Recently, such media coverage generated a backlash. Last week, several incoherent scuffs erupted in Quebec, took aim at Campbell's ability to speak French. Meanwhile, Liberal government consultants cited Dan Boudria, a prominent headhunter with his contacts in the oil and gas industry, as one of the few Canadians worth \$2.4 million.

Tories concede that Boudria's criticism is starting to have an effect. And some strategists wonder whether Campbell has the poise and stamina to cope with a grueling 47-day campaign. "Midway secret camps" because he loved to campaign, a close Campbell adviser recalled. "Other politicians say, 'You'll fall on your back schedule,' and she's a bit like that." The fellow image she has wanted hard to fashion over the summer also shows signs of fraying. In her Toronto speech, she was criticized for not mentioning "consumer duties" several times in relation to such conspicuous items as washing machines and dryers. Significantly, Tory insiders say that Campbell's popularity among the public has peaked. Recent polls for the prime ministerial race have put the Liberal at just a half dozen percentage points in the by-election of Ontario.

At the same time, the level of declared Liberal voters shows no sign of increasing, and public debate about Charles' permit. That still leaves a clear opening for other parties to campaign early. The New Democratic Party's Jean Charest and the Bloc Québécois and Reform—which may benefit from the increased exposure afforded by an election campaign. The problem for such is that the electorate appears disinterested even before the race has begun. "It is not a happy place for anyone from my party to cut there," said a Tory MP who has also been critical of Charest in Quebec. The campaign will give all candidates the stage they have been seeking, but there is no guarantee that the audience will be appreciative—or even attentive.

ANTHONY WILSON SPEAKS WITH ALAN BODRIA, an Ontario and New Brunswick and British Columbia in Toronto

## No talk, no action

### BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

"Every politician" the British novelist E. M. Forster wrote, "is involuntarily a promising politician." At the time that note was true, during election campaigns, when politicians of all stripes consented themselves to performing sweeter, higher and stronger than ever before. But now politicians do not say to be of equal importance, because efficiency on a particular topic often signals an unwillingness to deal with it. In fact, outside the campaign itself, when politicians do say to support those who fear for the quality of the water we drink and the air we breathe.

In the 1988 campaign, the environment ranked second to free trade among the issues. Even Mulroney's enthusiastic supporter, Lucien Bouchard, said that the Tories' goal was to "make Canada, by the year 2000, the industrial world's most environmentally friendly country." Many Canadians understood that goal. In the January 1990 edition of the *Canadian Almanac*, the *Maclean's* "Green" poll, 29 per cent of respondents said that they expected the government to be the top priority for the country in the 1990s.

In the election, neither the Tories nor the Liberals—the two parties most likely to form the next government—plan any significant new announcements on the environment. And few Canadians seem to care. The latest *Maclean's* "Green" poll, published last January, found that a little over 10 per cent of voters, whether they voted for the Tories or the Liberals, had any interest in the environment. "Voters," says a senior Conservative, "want to hear about jobs, not cars."

That attitude suits the Tories. Their 1988 poll-driven strategy aside, many of them still think of environmentalism—when they think of it at all—as a bottom-line issue to be ignored or minimized. In a memorandum last fall, the federal Treasury Board directed Environment Canada to "look at creating regulations and identify those that significantly limit the Canadian competitiveness or impose excessive costs." The government's *Green Plan*, announced with fanfare in 1986 and given a \$3-billion budget, has spent only about one-sixth of that total.

Bouchard, when he joined from the Tories to help lead the Bloc Québécois, promised to preserve his "deep commitment" to the issue. But his silence since suggests that his concern about the environment remained as quickly as his conversion to federalism. His successor, Robert de Cotret, is remembered chiefly for the budget cuts he oversaw. After de Cotret came Jean Charest, who said his strong showing in the Tory leadership race to lobby for a new portfolio, industry and science. Prime Minister Jean Charest replaced him with Pierre Vincent, who is seen by his own colleagues as a lightweight.

In addition, Campbell's reorganization of the cabinet in June has "virtually gutted the environment department," according to environmentalists. Elizabeth May of the Sierra Club of Canada. As part of those changes, Campbell shifted about 40 per cent of the department's budget to other ministries, and disbanded a cabinet committee on the environment.

Environmentalists still cause for optimism as well as despair in the way the Liberals have treated the issue. Jean Charest's own promise to help to create, as the early 1990s, a network of 20 national parks. But more recently, he has shown little interest in such issues as the search for new, renewable energy sources. Montrealers MP Paul Martin Jr. has been an effective hard-working environmentalist for the party—but his it is known that he would prefer an economic portfolio of the Liberals over the election.

Should politicians display more concern about an issue that so many Canadians care? That is part of the long-standing debate over whether governments should curb or police the actions of the private sector. Whether, both sides are largely right. They do the latter. There are dramatic exceptions to the end-of-1980s, the Tories herded warnings from international money markets about the rising federal deficit and began taking steps to reduce it—while simultaneously working to "build public support" for their actions. When it comes to the environment, the early warnings take the form of dramatic assertions in radio cancer rates, the depletion of the ozone layer and, more recently, growing concerns about global warming. By failing to address the environmental issue seriously, Canada's major federal parties are giving a mixed message. They are saying a new, and even a very old, adage: everyone talks about the weather, but no one does anything about it.



The Regina-based heavy oil refiner, critics say, keeps open the doors.

## Taking care of business

Should governments bankrupt the private sector?

### CAMPAIGN '93 THE ISSUES

It seemed like a good idea at the time. In 1960, Saskatchewan's first Conservative government, signed an agreement with the federal government to build a \$70-million heavy oil refinery, which would convert heavy crude oil into gasoline and other products. Under the deal, Ottawa and the province would guarantee \$25 million in loans—and the Saskatchewan government would cover any operating losses. But the partnership soured after the New Democratic Party, campaigning on a promise to reduce the province's deficit, defeated the Tories in the 1964 election. In June, the province passed a law allowing it to take over the Regina-based plant, which by then had cost taxpayers \$25 million. Federated Co-op responded by threatening to move its head office to Calgary. On Aug. 28, the two sides patched up their differences and agreed to split another \$25 million each into the project. But they also warned that the refinery might have to be shut down—unless Ottawa contributes up to \$75 million in direct subsidies.

With a federal election just approaching, Ottawa is under strong pressure to accede to that request. Over the past three decades, governments of all sorts have pumped billions of dollars into private ventures to parol jobs, regional economic develop-

ment—and political popularity. But in today's climate of fiscal restraint, federal and provincial governments are being forced to reassess that practice. Last year, the federal government announced plans to cut grants to businesses by about 30 per cent. Alberta's Tory government ended all direct cash grants to business as of April 1. And last month, Nova Scotia's new Liberal government announced that it would follow suit. Said Nova Scotia Economy Development Minister Brian Igoe: "I don't think there is a province in Canada which can afford to make routine cash contributions to business."

Like the Tories, opposition politicians are embracing the idea of reducing or eliminating subsidies to business. Reform party leader Preston Manning, for one, advocates doing away with all direct cash subsidies—including those given to Canadian farmers, provided that other countries do the same. The Liberals and the new Conservative Party, both acknowledge that there is a need to reform. Liberal MP and business critic Paul Martin Jr. says that it is no longer feasible "to bring a business with grants or subsidies to build plants which they are going to shut down or transfer to some other place on Wednesday." Agrees St. John's industry critic Howard McCurdy: "There has been too much emphasis on just throwing money at business."

The problem is not simply the strain on government coffers. Many politicians and

business leaders complain that grants and tax breaks to the private sector distort the marketplace and are a waste of taxes. "The practice has produced a long trail of unsuccessful ventures," says Thomas d'Amico, president of the Business Council on National Issues. Two of the most notorious examples: the \$300 million that the federal and Nova Scotia governments sank into the ill-fated Westray coal mine in Pictou, N.S., which closed following an explosion on May 6, 1992, that killed 26 workers, and the \$23 million that New Brunswick taxpayers lost when the British Columbia shipyard went into receivership in 1975.

The list of business ventures who have led into the public trough includes many professional services in local enterprises. Some politicians have taken action by arguing that any business they refuse will be seized by a competitor, who will then enjoy an unfair advantage. "That is what is so insidious about this," says Michael Walker, executive director of the Fraser Institute, a conservative Vancouver think tank. "Even if a CEO is morally and ethically opposed to this, he has an obligation to his shareholders and to his workers to take advantage of it."

In Walker's opinion, business elites encourage businesses to engage in irresponsible activities, or become a company in the expense of jobs. "With government subsidies," he says, "you create with one hand and destroy with another."

Another critic of business subsidies is Donald Sussner, an economics professor at the University of Montreal and editor of the 1990 book *Spending in Canada*. Last year, he says, Ottawa provides between \$28 billion and \$33 billion annually to the private sector in the form of loans, guaranteed loans and tax breaks. Extrapolating the most direct type of subsidy, he says, "If you take away that \$3 billion, \$4 billion, \$5 billion, you would spend such a sum." Sussner says, "There is nothing in the literature that suggests that kind of funding is very effective."

In fact, governments are already looking at ways of helping business shut down direct subsidies. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for example, are trying to focus government spending on training for workers. That way, the benefits remain even if the company that employed them shuts down or moves away. If the trend continues, the business that many businesses enjoyed in the past may soon be only a memory.

NANCY WOODS WITH LARRY FETTER in Ottawa and ARON BURGMAN in Toronto

# BROKEN PROMISES

FRUSTRATED NIGERIANS DEMAND A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

Finally, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida kept his word—to a point. The 53-year-old Nigerian dictator met his self-imposed deadline to give up the presidency by Aug. 27, leaving office last week one day before the eighth anniversary of the bloodless coup that brought him to power in 1993. But a simple ceremony that put the transfer of power into effect, underlined the dominant role that the military will continue to play in Nigerian politics. The outgoing ruler used the occasion to award a special medal to his former minister, Lt.-Gen. Sani Abacha, who will sit on the unelected

28-member Interim Federal Executive Council that succeeds Babangida's government. A despair that had plagued Nigeria since its war's end since its 1967 civil war was gone, but he had not kept his unspoken promise to cede power to a democratically elected civilian government.

Nigerians initially welcomed Babangida as a pragmatic leader committed to ending corruption and ethnic conflict in Africa's most populous (163 million) country. But he failed slowly to live up to those expectations. After twice postponing presidential elections earlier this year, he finally bowed to pressures for

a democratic poll in June. But then Babangida annulled the vote before the results were even announced, triggering civil unrest and mass movements of people fleeing Lagos and other large cities to their ethnic homelands out of fear that the situation would collapse into tribal war. Late last week, as he moved out of the presidential villa at the official capital, Abuja, and headed to his northern homeland into apparent retirement, Babangida left behind an anxious nation consumed by uncertainty about its future.

In fact, even as the general was officially retiring from the army in an elaborate mili-

tary parade in Abuja, Nigeria's two biggest cities, Lagos and Ibadan in the southwest, were paralyzed by stay-at-home protests called by the Campaign for Democracy, a human rights coalition of about 30 groups. Meanwhile, leftist tycoon Mustapha Abacha, whose supporters claim that he was rebuffed at the presidency when Babangida annulled the June 12 election, declared that the new interim council "represents nobody but Ibrahim Babangida and a small clique." And he vowed to return to Nigeria this week from travels abroad to refuse to join "a real government." That brought an ominous warning from the council: Justice Minister Clement Akpanogbo declared that Abacha's threatened action "would be an act of insurrection" that would trigger "the necessary reactions."

Nigeria has been ruled by the military for 25 of the 33 years since it gained its independence from Britain in 1960. Shortly after taking power in 1983, Babangida repeatedly promised—then delayed—a return to democratic rule. His officials denied hundreds of dissidents and journalists, often without formal charges, when they criticized his government. Babangida shut down several independent newspapers and magazines. Other critical elements of the country have ceased to function. Its universities, since the pride of Nigeria, have been closed for the past year, impoverished by poor management and increasingly bitter strikes by teachers' staff. And its National Assembly, dissolved after the U.S. Congress, with a Senate and House of Representatives, has been largely inactive since its inauguration last year because most of its powers were suspended by the military.

By most accounts, Abacha himself won the June election that internationally and Nigerian observers deemed to be fair. But Babangida refused to accept the outcome, claiming fraud and rule by force. About half the population, both Abacha and Babangida are Hausas, 80% of the country's total. But Abacha came from the north, strongholds of the Yoruba tribe. Babangida comes from the north, where political power and dominance of the military have been traditionally held by the Hausa-Yoruba tribes. Seeking to avert a disaster, prominent polit-

icians including former military president General Abacha's brother, and the director of the interim civilian government in the only solution to the crisis. Said Abacha, who in 1979 became the first Nigerian leader to freely hand over power to an elected civilian government. "What is most important is that Babangida should go. Then the processes of good governance and democracy in Nigeria can start."

The unelected interim council installed last week, which will rule by military decree, is expected to govern until a new presidential election is held, probably next year. In Babangida's critics, it appeared to be a smoke screen allowing him to exert power from the background. "What Babangida has done is to place the interim government on a superstructure he has created," said Tunji Abajoni, head of Human Rights Africa, one



Babangida, troops on patrol in Lagos during strike (opposite) uncertainty

of the opposition groups that agonized steadily since last week. "With the war in government in place, Gen. Babangida will still pull the strings whether he officially holds power or not."

The new interim leader is Ernest Shiketa, 57, a former industrialist and lawyer who has headed a transitional council handling day-to-day government since January. He comes from the southwestern town of Abokobo, also home to Abacha and many other critics of Babangida, including Rebo Ransome-Kuti, the detained leader of the Campaign for Democracy. Nobel laureate novelist Wole Soyinka and ex-military ruler Olusegun Obasanjo, who says that Babangida chose Shiketa to appease supporters of Abacha, that many of Shiketa's

## World Notes

### MUSSEIN'S DIRECTORS

Contending what they called the senior and success of President Saddam Hussein's ministers, Iraq's top diplomat in Canada, Hisham al-Kadiri, and its recently retired envoy to Tunisia, Saïed al-Jabbar, defected to Britain. The diplomats said that they will work with the London-based Iraqi National Congress, an umbrella body for opposition groups.

### PUNISHING CHINA

The United States shipped economic sanctions against China, according Beijing of having shipped ballistic missile components to Pakistan in breach of a world organizations pact. The sanctions will block up to \$1 billion worth of U.S. exports to China, mostly satellite and other technology, over the next two years. In 1990, Washington suspended all military and new economic aid to Pakistan on suspicion that the country was making nuclear weapons.

### THE JIK PAPERS

Previously unsorted documents relating to the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy shed intriguing light on a mysterious visit that reported basic publisher Lee Harvey Oswald made to Mexico City a month before the shooting in Dallas. A section of a 500-page 1970 report by the House Select Committee on Assassinations disclosed that Oswald had a semi-relationship with a Mexican secretary of the Cuban consulate there, who had apparently been targeted for recruitment by the CIA.

### BRIEF FOR HAITI

As then made steps towards restoring democracy, the UN Security Council suspended a worldwide oil and arms embargo that it imposed on the country in June. But formal abolition of the sanctions will not occur until after Oct. 30 when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted in a 1991 military coup, is scheduled to return to power.

### A BRUTAL SLAYING

A mob of black youths in a Cape Town township stabbed a white Afrikaner woman to death. The victim, Mrs. Heidi 38, of Newport Beach, said she was in South Africa for 10 months, studying the status of women and doing volunteer work on projects for poor black women and children. Police arrested two members of the radical Pan Africanist Congress, which has the slogan, "One settler, one bullet."

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## WORLD

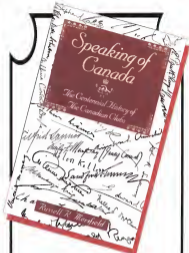
Yoruba-speaking Igbos say that, in accepting the job, he has betrayed the cause of a people cheated out of the presidency. "Because Shokun is a Yoruba man, the Abia does not mean he will have it easy," said businessman Isiah Lando, a Forth. "Shokun is going to have a lot of problems in Yorubaland, where many people will see him as a traitor."

Shokun clearly faces a tough job guiding Nigeria through difficult times. Nigeria's is the dominant economy of sub-Saharan Africa. But it derives 80 per cent of its revenues from petroleum sales—a previous source of income as the oil price slumped in the early 1980s proved. In 1988, Nigeria earned \$25 billion from oil exports. But by 1990 that figure was reduced to just \$10 billion. And while Nigeria continues to run well by African standards, successive governments, mainly military, have squandered more than \$175 billion of its oil revenues since 1960.

The country is enormously rich in natural resources. Besides oil, it exports coal, tin and rubber, but widespread corruption and mismanagement have kept living standards abysmally low. Nigeria's per capita GNP is only \$335, among the lowest in the world. The annual inflation rate is 75 per cent and the foreign debt is a crippling \$32 billion. Much of the blame rests with Babangida and other politicians, who critics say have used public service as an excuse to personal fortune. According to Lagos-based journalist Oluropo Ogunyemi: "The average Nigerian politician is not only a master of disguise, he is the very embodiment of bad politics. Not for him such enabling attributes as honesty, sacrifice, discipline and strict adherence to the rules of the game. Not for him Abraham Lincoln's famous declaration that politics is a call to service. Here the hallmarks have remained constant: selfishness, intolerance, bitterness, greed and power."

In a brief acceptance speech last week in Abuja, Shokun acknowledged the challenges ahead. Said the interim leader: "Our task has not been made easier by the events of the past several years, which have put a long way in undermining our national economy." That task could become even more difficult if Abia carries out his promise to return to Nigeria this week. The downward presidential candidate has been out of the country since Aug. 3, campaigning for international support for his claim to power. He has met with some success, winning verbal sanctions against Nigeria from the European Community, the United States and Canada. But many Nigerians fear that Abia's reappearance now could spark mass demonstrations by pro-democracy groups—and give the military an excuse to crack down. And that they lose, may only further delay Nigeria's long-awaited return to democracy.

ANDREW REEDER with PAUL ADAMS in Abuja



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# Sarajevo Diary

Lewis MacKenzie looks back on days of terror and controversy

**L**ewis MacKenzie was right when he warned his reporters that, in naming him to command the UN mission to Sarajevo in June, 1992, they were sending a soldier, not a diplomat. Over the next six weeks, the Canadian Forces general angered his bosses—and others who saw the Bosnian war as a clear case of Serbian aggression—with blunt public statements apportioning some blame for the fighting to Muslims and Croats as well as Serbs, and warnings against the folly of outside military intervention.

Newspapers from the military, the 53-year-old MacKenzie continues to speak out on the Balkan war—for fees that earn him a six-figure income. His controversial views, along with the fact that he accepted \$15,000 from a U.S.-based Serbian public-relations group to speak in Washington last June, have

led critics to brand him a "Serbian agent." Last week, MacKenzie turned the money from that engagement over to the Canadian Foundation for AIDS Research. But he continues to speak candidly about what he sees as an intractable military situation that can only be resolved by political negotiation. On Sept. 18, Douglas & McIntyre releases his memoirs of his military career, *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo*. The following excerpts are taken from the chapters on Sarajevo, a city that he says has become a "sore on the conscience of the world."

MacKenzie is at the airport in Sarajevo "told away or you die"

to monitor. The arriving soldiers were furious with their political leaders' decision to hand the United Nations control of a strategic city that they had fought—and many had died—for. The UN troops were unwelcome, and the Canadian general got an immediate taste of the United Nations' unpopularity in Bosnia—a dislike that quickly became directed against MacKenzie himself.

## JUNE 11

During the drive downtown, I saw that about 20 per cent more of the buildings on the main route had been seriously damaged during my three-week absence. The area around the presidency was a mess, trees and parts of buildings had been blown into the street. Across from the Holiday Inn, the Congress had been destroyed. The roof of the arena where Kumbira Witi had won her gold medal for figure skating in 1988 had completely collapsed.

At approximately 2000h, the phone rang in my office—on-beatphones. The voice at the other end of the phone had a very strong accent which made the individual very hard to understand, however, I could hear him being coughed in the background by a female speaking perfect English.

"General MacKenzie, I command 2,000 soldiers. Many of my people have died capturing the airport. If you are the 'welcome wagon' as I decided that I might as well talk to him.

"I'm not here to take the airport away from you. Your leaders, Dr. [Jovanovic] Radovic and General [Rafael] Mladic, have signed a contract with the UN to hand over the airport to us so we can bring in humanitarian aid. This is not my idea, it's yours," I said, I could hear the female unloading my credentials. "Radovic and Mladic are both,"

the voice responded. "I command the airport area and you must stay away."

Obviously, I wasn't getting anywhere so I changed my tactic. "Look, why don't we get together and talk about this face-to-face. I'm prepared to come and see you or you can be brought to the PTT?" "No. No meeting, and you stay away from the airport or you die" And with that, he hung up.

Welcome to Sarajevo, I thought, and went to bed in the "room" constructed with blankets suspended from wires strung between the walls adjacent to my desk.

MacKenzie quickly discovered that trust-and-trust journalism methods didn't always work in Sarajevo. Worried about the need to hold off a hostile force should the United Nations need to evacuate Sarajevo, he ordered the Canadian battalion to search captured weapons—handguns and/or the captured—only their airport command. And MacKenzie discovered that the international media, with its ability to arrest world opinion by spotlighting atrocities, was the most potent weapon in trying to cover the difficult side of the war. But on occasion, some soldiers had been angry guns turned on MacKenzie's own troops.

## JUNE 20

The situation around the airport deteriorated during the day. One group tried to raise a UN flag over the airbase building, 1000m and west of the airport, by snipers from across the road to the suburb of Dobrinja. Over 50 rounds were fired from tanks and mortars placed in from both sides. I was fed up and proceeded to make one of the dumbest decisions of my career.

I sent a letter to [Bosnian] Mission President Agim Ibrahimovic and Dr. Karadzic advising them that I asked to withdraw my personnel from the airport in seven or possibly 10 minutes. I was making all considerations and efforts to open the Sarajevo airport for the delivery of humanitarian aid until there is at least 48 hours of continuous ceasefire. Every time there is a breach of the ceasefire, the 48-hour clock will be reset to zero. I cannot ignore the ceasefire. That is your responsibility. I suggest you both stop fighting now. When you do, I will start the 48-hour clock. A press conference was called and I advised the media of my communication with the two leaders.

Five minutes later, I received the report that Maj. Peter Devlin's jeep had been hit (with a sniper). Maj. Devlin, commander of N Company of the Royal Canadian Regiment, which was one of the two large rifle companies in the Vao Don battle group. His driver, Cpl. Jim Gordon, had been severely injured as his left knee had had managed to drive their jeep out of the impact area in spite of the fact that all their tires, including the rear-mounted spare, had been cut off by shrapnel from the flying mortar. Maj. Devlin and the third passenger in



*"In war and chaos faced across Bosnia in June, 1992, Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie took command of United Nations troops responsible for enforcing an airport agreement that would allow humanitarian aid to be flown into Sarajevo. The mission involved the return in Bosnia of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFORG), which had withdrawn to Belgrade, Serbia, in May as the war intensified. With a small advance group, MacKenzie drove westward from Belgrade, through checkpoints where mistreating Bosnian Serbs threatened to kill him, to reach Sarajevo's airport, where fighting between Serbs and Muslims still raged. "For the first time since I'd arrived in Yugoslavia back in May, I was really scared," MacKenzie wrote in his diary that first night as two or five and mortar snare of around him. "I wondered if I was doing my worst."*

*After painstaking negotiations, UN soldiers were allowed to travel across front lines to establish their headquarters in the PTT, a former government building near the airport. But there was no ceasefire*



the vehicle, Lt. Patrick Dray, had also been hit but fortunately their wounds were superficial. We didn't realize how lucky they were until we saw their jeep, which definitely had seen better days. Col. Gordon was evacuated to our Canadian base in Lahti, Germany, the next day.

The shooting died down around 2300h, coincidental with a call from Barbara McMonaght, Canada's secretary of state for external affairs. She was on her car phone and wanted to wish us all well as we sought to open the airport. I thanked her for the call and made a mental note that she was the first politician to have made the effort. It was the first time that I realized that we hadn't heard from the Minister of National Defense Marcel Masse.

Western European politicians were facing the heat of public opinion for their failure to stop the war in Bosnia. To counteract that criticism, French President François Mitterrand decided to fly to Sarajevo to meet local politicians—on just one daily notice. It was, as MacMonaght wrote at the time, "The most outstanding act of political one-upmanship by a European statesman since the Second World War [and] had the makings of a farce."

It was now or never "Mr. President, with all due respect, I would appreciate you also seeing the Serbian leader in Bosnia, Dr. Karadzic. It's important for me to be seen as an impartial negotiator by both sides. If you only see President Jelskovic, it will make it virtually impossible for me to deal with the Serbs after you leave. They are about to hand over the airport to us and I would hate to see anything jeopardize that."

"Monsieur," Mitterrand replied. "Tell Karadzic that I will see him for only five minutes before I depart. I won't meet with him, I'll just say hello." It would be five minutes, a quick handshake and that would be it.

Another problem "Mr. President, your greetings will turn into a meeting, and that meeting will last as long as I breathe." Approximately two minutes after you start your five-minute meeting, fighting will break out. There will be a major firefight involving tanks, mortars and machine-guns on and around the airport terminal. We won't be able to leave from the building and Karadzic decides your meeting is over. I call it showtime," and both sides are



The general with Kouchner (center) and Mitterrand: "an outstanding act of political one-upmanship."

## JUNE 29

My immediate impression of the president was that he was different, his well-known nickname, "The Sphinx," in spite of the considerable confusion swirling around him, including the inevitable Russian VIP welcome consisting of cigars and cognac for which he'd started "no schedule" from both sides at the runway, you would have thought the president was on a leisurely stroll through the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. Mitterrand asked to visit the toilet. I decided on immediate look of concern bordering on panic on the faces of my staff. I found out later that the water and electricity had been off all morning and so we knew what caused the toilet run. The president disappeared into it and came out, and closed the door unceremoniously with us all taking a long breath. About two minutes later, we all exhaled with a collective sigh of relief when we heard the distant sound of a strong and complete flush. The president emerged rubbing his damp hands together to dry them. Obviously, our single cold water tap had also cooperated for the first time in days. Who says greener doesn't work on plumbing?

French Health Minister Bernard Kouchner told Mitterrand that he should see President Jelskovic as soon as possible. After all, Jelskovic was the legal president of the country and protocol dictated that he be first on the list of people to be visited. Mitterrand indicated that the car ride would suffice and therefore that he should be able to depart in a few hours.

I was shocked. I never considered that the president of France would visit Sarajevo and only talk with one side in the conflict. I could just imagine the Serb reaction and they would take it out on the only permanent international ambassador present in Sarajevo—the

goal of this type of play to capture the attention of visiting VIPs."

MacMonaght then asked Mitterrand to make it clear to the Muslims that there would be no outside military intervention on their behalf.

The fix of the question that it's in the interests of Jelskovic to keep the fighting going in the hope that the world will come to his rescue, providing he can make it look like the Serbs are solely responsible for perpetuating the chaos. God knows, really, the majority of the blame rests with the Serbs; however, at this moment in Sarajevo's

anguish, whenever we arrange any type of ceasefire, it's usually the Muslims who break it first. In addition, there is strong circumstantial evidence that a number of really heinous acts of cruelty attributed to the Serbs by the media were actually orchestrated by the Muslims against their own people for the benefit of the international community. There are no good solutions to this mess, Mr. President, only the best of the worst. I respectfully request that you attempt to convince Jelskovic that he will not see international military inter-



Smoke rising: broken ceasefire as "both sides were cheating."

vention, if that is the case, and hoping that, pressure from us to bid down to the same issue with Karadzic, he will at least try to arrange some sort of ceasefire."

"Monsieur," was the extent of the president's response. I had no idea if he reflected my personal opinion or endorsed it, nor would I ever find out.

After meeting with Serbian President Jelskovic, Mitterrand proceeded to the airport for his "short" meeting with Serb leaders before leaving Sarajevo.

I introduced these and Karadzic indicated to Mitterrand that he was about to hand the airport over to the United Nations and suggested they go inside for a short meeting. Mitterrand responded that they had to get on their way and that he just wanted to say hello.

As if on cue, machine-guns fire could be heard in the distance and almost immediately two of the Serbian tanks, no more than 50 meters away fired in the direction of (the suburbs of) Belovar and Belgrade.

The shock waves from their main guns blasted the crowd around the president and fortunately pushed us all in the direction of the building's front entrance. All the Serbian Serb weapon systems now opened up and the Muslims started to return the fire with a fair degree of vigor. There was no choice, I took the president by the arm and started to move towards the entrance door. "Mr. President, I think we should get out of view, perhaps a short meeting in an office."

Once in the office, Karadzic commenced a fairly lengthy indictment of the Muslim threat, referring to Jelskovic's alleged desire to establish a Muslim fundamentalist state on European territory. First, there he tried to convince Mitterrand that all the good Serbs had joined him in his battle against the Muslims and the ones that had remained loyal to the [Bosnian] presidency were traitors. All the Serbs desired was the right to establish their own independent territory within Bosnia. An assassin of Bosnia didn't the president of France think that they had the right?

Mitterrand looked Karadzic square in the eye and said "Perhaps, but you are not going about it the right way."

Talk about narcissism. In one sentence, Mitterrand had summed up the West's point of view and dismissed Karadzic's arguments.

MacMonaght negotiated numerous ceasefire during his six-week tour in Sarajevo, but none held and few lasted more than three hours. It was of little interest to determine which side was breaking the agreements, and UN officials in New York refused to issue resolutions to force compliance, which would have implicated either the Serb side (SNO) and the largely Muslim Bosnian Muslim Forces (BMF) were deployed. Instead, MacMonaght told MacMonaght, he received some satellite data surreptitiously from the American military. But the ground force increasingly related with what he described as the lack of awareness at UN headquarters about the danger the peacekeepers were facing on the ground.

## JULY 4

The situation in the city deteriorated. Everyone bunkered down at the airport and stayed for the day to arrive along with the usual reduction in shelling. Both sides were cheating, the Bosnian Serbs being the major culprit because they had the majority of the artillery. I met with [both sides] to present but my best wasn't as it is both sides had to be for over a week saying they had declared all their weapons.

I had requested UN New York provide us with satellite or reconnaissance plane imagery so I could prove who was cheating and where, but the request was rejected. I convinced both sides to ask me to ask the United Nations for weapons, which I did, but that request was also rejected.

In the usual old days of peacekeeping, it was rightly considered bad taste to spy on the people you were trying to help. Bosnia was different, but the UN rules didn't caught up with the new challenges.

An outdated attitude regarding intelligence kept us from gaining the information that was both available and needed. Imagery would have also told us what the Croatian army was doing in Bosnia, which would have been nice. Non-UN aircraft were trying to help but it wasn't easy to get the data to us so when we did receive some of it, we couldn't share it with some of the [non-UN] nationalities making up our staff.

That evening, I began to get hints from UN and non-UN sources that some missions were standing by with air power to give us a hand if need be.

That was the last thing we needed unless we were being directly attacked. This was a matter of policy by use, two or three sides at the conflict.

I sent a message to [UN commanders] stressing that the use of air power would clearly associate us with the side not being attacked and, therefore, we would very quickly be branded an intervention force to respond to an important peacekeeping force. That was to be the case. I wanted all those weapons and ammunition that the United Nations and the Canadian battalion could bring to Sarajevo. I was being a bit sarcastic but it was an important cue, much reinforcement by non-military types and I wanted to make my point before someone came to our "rescue" and got us all killed.

As the Bosnian Serb forces ruled us and the implicit international community remained on the sidelines, the soldiers and civilians turned on the United Nations and MacMonaght. Persons that Mitterrand had said lived up to his name as a peacemaker.

## JULY 11

When I got back to the PTT, I had a chat with Vlatko [President, MacMonaght's deputy] about how things had gone during my absence. What he told me was disturbing to the extent that I issued a number of warnings that had been stopped by the UN and everyone forced to dismount. On each occasion, the soldiers were looking for "that" — meaning MacMonaght. Vlatko had been in one of the vehicles when it was attacked and he was genuinely concerned for my safety. "They were

really quite minimal when they restored your name," he said.

To make matters worse, local newspaper articles had once again started to include lists of US UNPROFOR staff by referring to us as "SERBESKI RONI." The accusations were so outrageous that they had to be part of a different newspaper.

Later that evening, Lt. Col. Richard Gray told me that one of his UN observers at a TDP gun position had 30 rounds fired at us at 30-47 feet off beside his car by an irate member of the TDP screaming, "You work for MacKenzie!"

I was disgusted. Ordering people to what might be their death in war for the overall good of the mission is one thing, but asking them to put their lives at risk in what is supposed to be peacekeeping was unacceptable. For reasons only the Bosnian presidency understood, they were unwilling to try in an attempt to discredit me in an attempt to discredit me and my people were placed under increased risk as a result. The thought of one of our observers being mistakenly shot with my name ringing in his ears before he died was quite honestly horrifying.

I could only assume that the president wanted massive military intervention, which I had explained to the "Serbian terrorist, Mula Malenovic." Mula Malenovic had indeed been born a Serb and left Sarajevo for Canada when she was five years old and never returned. She must have started her "terrorism" career at a very young age. Before I left, various members of the presidency asked me to pass on their regards to Mula as they had killed her very much when they strangled unarmingly with her as a terrorist. A terrorist who is a university student by the years of age—I was impressed.

It was in Bosnia that I learned up to 200,000 lives, many of them civilians shot by sniper or struck by mortar fire as they walk Sarajevo's streets. MacKenzie was particularly disturbed by an attack that killed a Bosnian lawyer who, he later told MacKenzie's, "looked at me like his daughter."

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## JULY 12

war ended. Conversation had been loosened by a good theological when all of a sudden there were a number of loud explosions and the building shook violently. The noise came from the front of the building, and without thinking, we ran into our first outdoor case room with its solid glass wall facing the street. We stood up at the window and looked across the street. A number of cars were



Livestock carriage: the livestock truck was to wait until the medical teams arrive and maintain the resources.

burning in the parking lot and there was a lot of debris in the street and black smoke in the air. We could hear screaming but we couldn't see anyone in the area of the shelling. The screaming continued and I glanced straight down the front of the building to the top glass wing two floors below as it street level. What I saw will always be my most lasting and horrible memory of Sarajevo.

Seven terrorists had been accepting chocolate bars through a window on the ground floor from some of our people. One of the earlier

**"The screaming continued and what I saw will always be my most lasting and horrible memory of Sarajevo"**

bombs had landed in their midst. Our youth had lost both his legs, which were now lying on the road and still moving. One other had been cut to pieces and would need amputations. A beautiful girl with long, black hair was on her back on the ground staring straight into my eyes. Her hair was laid out around her head and I immediately had thoughts of my daughter, Karen. The girl was missing half of her head and her brain was exposed. Mercifully, she died seconds later. The entire area was awash with blood. As our chase up and three of the slightly injured jumped in and took off in the direction of the hospital.

Our chase and evasion only lasted a few seconds. Richard Gray and British Major Vanessa Lloyd-Davies quickly organized a rescue party, which rushed downstairs to the scene and brought the casualties to our medical facility. They were brave to do so because the in-

verse trick in this war was to wait until the medical teams arrive and then fire some more weapons to maintain the resources.

On July 21, MacKenzie gave another press conference at Sarajevo where he caused a furor by insisting that while the UN forces here the "Serbian of responsibility" for the conflict, the mostly Muslim Bosnian government had kept the fighting going. There could be no peace in Sarajevo, he said, "because I can't keep the two sides from firing on their own positions for the benefit of CNN." The statement outraged the British in New York City and resulted in MacKenzie being pulled out of Sarajevo to Refractory for consultations. "We was allowed to return to Sarajevo on July 21 for a few hours so he could be on hand for the planned withdrawal of the Canadian troops who had served with him.

## JULY 21-AUGUST 1

It was difficult to sleep as there was a lot of firing going on. This was my last night at the airport until we moved back from the window and watched the fireworks for hours, mesmerized by the beauty of it all yet, at the same time, realizing that every explosion represented more deaths and suffering in a war that should never have started and probably would never end until there was no one left to care.

Just before the sun came up, the first group [of Canadian soldiers] headed off towards Lakovic en route to the main Belgrade-Zagreb highway some 12 hours away. It was without a doubt the happiest day of my life. The experience in Canada yet but over 800 soldiers had spent a month in one of the most dangerous places in the world and they all left alive. Cpl. [Dennis] Reed had lost his foot and 18 others had sustained injuries from shrapnel and severe burns but they were alive and, all things considered, that was a pretty good outcome. I thought a small prayer at thanks—to God and our regimental system that produces such good units and soldiers.

As we took off from Sarajevo airport for the last time, I watched French soldiers moving from the dug-in positions left by the Canadian bastions. The surrounding area was pockmarked with shell holes and the roads were blocked by burning vehicles. Hardly a building was without damage and smoke was rising from the centre of the city. As we reached a few thousand feet, the city was transformed into a patchwork of red tile roofs and green parks against a blue sky. Sarajevo was beautiful again as my last-day-of-perfect-weather was unable to see the scars of war as we gained altitude. "Wonderful!" he was wonderful, I thought, if it could look like that again down at street level. I glanced at Dwayne. Even from that distance I could see buildings burning. □

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# SPEAKING UP

## CANADIAN AIRLINES PRESSES OTTAWA TO REMOVE THE LAST HURDLES BLOCKING A LIFE-SAVING DEAL

The sense of relief in the Calgary hotel ballroom was palpable. On Aug. 27, after nine months of negotiations, the senior managers of out-of-control PWA Corp., the parent company of Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International Ltd., were assured from shareholders and debt holders for a emergency financial restructuring plan. That event brought PWA one step closer to meeting the terms of a life-saving deal with AMR Corp. of Fort Worth, Texas. But although debt holders and stockholders both voted over 96 per cent in favor of the plan, PWA managers did encounter some turbulence. Ted Haslam, a shareholder from Calgary, accused PWA management of "misleading" investors about the company's financial problems. He also demanded to know why the independent members of the company's board of directors, none of whom attended the meetings, continued to support the "usual management of this company." After making accusations, including chairman and chief executive Wm. Epton acknowledged that "I'm not a shareholder, and I saw the value of my investment fall as far, I'd ask tough questions, too."

The meetings marked the end of another hectic week in the beleaguered airline's struggle to survive. On August 24, PWA's board of directors formally agreed that Canada's latest merger avenue, which included an offer to buy eight aircraft from Canadian Airlines as well as its license in transatlantic routes. From the board meeting, Epton flew to Vancouver to address a huge employee rally. Then, the increasingly polarized line to the rivalry between Canada's two major airlines intensified. While some 2,000 Canadian employees signed coffee and



Employees rally in Vancouver: "We have to get out and make some real noise."

ribbed meetings in a convenience airplane hangar, many organizers urged them to sign petitions demanding direct support for the deal with AMR, the parent company of American Airlines, which had offered to buy a 50-per-cent stake in Canadian for \$250 million. But to close that deal, PWA wants the federal cabinet to allow Canadian to withdraw from the Gemini computerized reservation system, which Canadian and Air Canada jointly own, and sign on with AMR's Sabre system. To prove their concerns, Canadian employees marched outside Prime Minister Kim Campbell's riding headquarters in Vancouver on August 27. Dayland Sidney Patented, chairman of the

Council of Canadian Airlines Employees "We have to get out there and make some real noise now. That's all the people who are in the Ottawa underground."

That noise was clearly heard by the Liberal party last week, which attempted to move the first between the Canada and Canadian into the election campaign spotlight. Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien attacked Campbell's Aug. 31 statement that it is up to the courts to resolve the problems between the two corporations in what she called a "private sector solution." Instead he urged the government to appoint an expert facilitator to arbitrate a compromise. Liberal transport critic John Munro told Marleau's that Ottawa must

ensure competition and ensure that the two dominant airlines do not either "kill each other or conspire" that he added "There can't be any private sector solution when the two sides aren't even talking to each other."

With PWA's financial restructuring plan now endorsed by shareholders and creditors, the only matter to be resolved before the deal with AMR proceeds—and Canadian receives the critical cash infusion of \$240 million—is the dispute over Gemini. On Aug. 11, the Ontario Superior Court rejected

through a painful and complex financial restructuring process. Although about 70 per cent of PWA's various classes of creditors supported the restructuring prior to last week's shareholder meeting, senior members of Air Canada admitted that their surprise offer to the company on Aug. 14 was deliberately intended to sway the final outcome. As well, last week Air Canada sponsored an aggressive national radio advertising campaign that contained no mention of its proposal, despite PWA's formal rejection of what Epton called a "bribe" offer.

Epton's outrage over Air Canada's most recent maneuvers stems from the fact that Air Canada walked away from merger talks last November, after three months after initiating them, when PWA was just weeks away from bankruptcy. Indeed, last Nov. 26, the airline consented to all lenders and lenders. In February, PWA presented its restructuring plan to five groups of its creditors, owed a total of \$2.8 billion, and to company shareholders. And last week, they approved that plan.

To reduce the company's debt by about \$200 million, the creditors will swap their debt for new shares in the company. PWA will issue 700 million new shares, bringing its total outstanding to over one billion shares. For existing common shareholders, that means dilution of their investment is particularly hard to take. As recently as 1989, the stock was still trading around \$10. But in February, it hit a low of 46 cents, and last week it closed at 59 cents on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

Still, the most significant change resulting from the restructuring is the new level of ownership for Canadian's employees. Because of wage and benefit concessions last year and \$200 million over four years, the employees have earned actual bonuses in over 25 per cent of PWA's outstanding shares.

For each 60 cents in reduced shares, the company will issue one share to any employee. That employee investment will be monitored by the Council of Canadian Airlines Employees, consisting of leaders of five of the airline's unions.

Many of these employees were present at the creditors' meeting last week to watch their personal sacrifices converted into cash. Said lead McLean, a Canadian agent based in Ottawa: "A year ago few people—including us—thought we'd still be here. But every classmate has more determined to survive." With only one obstacle left to overcome—and a deal on the election agenda that demonstrates may pay off the losses

backed against the wall, Epton has led them

### A BAY WHISKY ACCORD

The Toronto Stock Exchange, which has long been behind other major international stock markets, finally surpassed its record it set prior to the 1980 stock market crash. On Aug. 25, the TSE 300 index closed at 4224.4, rising from an all-time low of 4112.8 set on Aug. 15, 1987, from a record to close the week at 4124.4 points.

### KI HER BATTLE

Labat Breweries of Canada applied to the Federal Court of Canada for an injunction to prevent another Molson-Brewery from using the term "Two Rivers" in advertising for its brands. Labat claims that it has a "patent" of its two-river brand. The brand began in March, when Labat introduced a whisky introduction for its brand of beer. It was acquired by Molson, which ruled in its favor in its own court a few days earlier.

### A BOARDROOM RAID

More than 300 police officers searched offices in Volkswagen's world headquarters in Wolfsburg, Germany, in an escalating probe of possible corporate spying by former General Motors executive José Ignacio López de Armentia. General Motors alleges that López took company secrets with him when he defected to Volkswagen in March. López staunchly denies the allegations, which could result in criminal charges.

### MACDONALD'S RETREATS

McDonald's restaurants at Canada Ltd. withdrew carts selling soft drinks that had declined around Toronto's SkyDome after just five days of operation. Local independent hotel vendors complained that the fast-food chain, which has an exclusive contract for food service inside the stadium, was trampling on their territory. George Cobos, the chain's senior chairman, said that the company ran a test, at SkyDome's request, but it added "Finally, we all agreed we made a mistake."

### A NEW MERRY INDEX

Using a new "behavioral change" indicator, that measures changes in employment, production and investment in more than 60 industries, Royal Bank of Canada economists announced that Canada has lost more jobs in economic restructuring over the past three years than it has in any time since the end of the Earl Street, the bank's assistant chief economist, added that "The scale of the loss is a feature of this country for the next couple of years."

DEVELOPMENTS IN Vancouver and Calgary

# Family Feud

## A fight between the McCain brothers threatens their food empire

**A**s boys during the Great Depression years and into their teens during the Second World War, Harrison and Wallace McCain, brothers only 2½ years apart in age, went to school together and played games together in the village of Florenceville on the upper Saint John river, New Brunswick potato country. As young sons out of university, an unimpaired job and, in living enterprises, they gained reputations for playing hard and working harder. In their late 30s, they and their two older brothers began determinedly get into the business of turning raw potatoes into frozen french fries. Over the 38 years after their first plant opened in Florenceville in 1967, they widened their market to include as Australia and expanded their product line into frozen fruit juice, pizzas and other foods. The reason the older of the two was the traveler: Wallace ran the business at home. They live and work in allures.



Harrison (left) and Wallace McCain flank banker Ritchie at 1993 award ceremony

Even now, the two sound like unlikely litigants. Wallace, the plaintiff in a lawsuit launched last week, said of Harrison, who he had just spent the day with: "Of course we're still talking to each other. He's my best friend. He's my brother." And Harrison, the defendant, told *Blackboard*: "It's a good \$16, all right."

Despite the brotherly sentiments, Wallace alleges in a case to be tried in September that Harrison is trying to push him out of their company, McCain Foods Ltd. At a meeting of the family holding company board on Aug. 21, a majority agreed with Harrison that Wallace should leave his job by Sept. 30, Harrison says that he fears remain-

ing younger executives leadership, whether that be from inside or outside the family. Wallace claims that two years ago they delayed decisions on their successors to a committee of four outside corporate executives, members of McCain's operating board. Like in many family-business succession battles, several of which have left the company in the hands of outsiders (after 38, the rift at McCain's terms heated for a costly, protracted fight that will leave scars on both the brothers and the family). The battle also threatens one of Canada's most successful multinationals. For New Brunswick in general and Florenceville in particular, the feud also raises questions about the fate of McCain's 4,000 employees in the province and of thousands more jobs generated by the business.

The gap between the brothers already involves not only their old dream, success and expansion but, more surprisingly in a family feud, has guarded on privacy, public relations professionals. Three days after

the Aug. 17 meeting of the family board, a Toronto public relations firm, representing Wallace, began making direct calls to editors at a few news outlets.

Despite their differences, people who have worked with the brothers say that they appeared to have enjoyed a true partnership. "I've only seen them working as a team," said one senior Ottawa official. "They are very different kinds of people, but they were complementary." Added another senior business acquaintance: "When I read about their difficulties in the newspaper, I was shocked, because from everything I'd seen of them, they were a tightly knit family that got along together exceedingly well. They seemed to have a tremendous amount of respect for each other." He said that when he discussed various business issues with Harrison, "He'd say 'I better check this out with Wally.' Sometimes I'd think it wasn't the most vital thing in the world, but, hell, he'd think it was important enough to run it by Wally."

Despite the McCain brothers' down-home, just-dicks image in New Brunswick, most of the people interviewed by *Blackboard* in the last week apparently refused to talk on the record about the brothers' disagreement. From Ontario business acquaintances to potato farmers in the Florenceville region, few people were willing to risk raising the ire of a McCain. "They might not like it if they know I was talking about them," said one potato farmer. "The farmer, who was off his crop to the McCains, said that the dispute touched a nerve even closer to home for him. He shares a farm with his brother. 'I realize that we're not always sure and it makes me start to wonder.'"

But, says James McHarris, dean of the faculty of management at Dalhousie University in Halifax, his family business, regardless of the case, the question of what happens when the boundaries between the single most difficult issue to resolve: "It's the old shareholders' lawsuit: who's in three generations," said McHarris. "The lawsuits build the company, the way out of it and the grandsons lose it. It's not a new problem. That three-generation thing was recognized way back in the 1700s in England."

The succession question is a central factor in the McCain dispute. In a statement that Wallace filed in court and made public only after several attempts challenged an earlier no-disclosure order by the judge, he alleges that there was a plan to leave the company because Harrison wants to control the succession process. "The concern of Harrison, McCain was one of all the sons, Michael McCain was the most capable."

Wallace, the company president, on the other hand, is talkative and even lively. Wallace joked around the world school lunch. Wallace looked to administrative duties and the company's North American operations. He also spent more time in Florenceville, a picturesque village where the McCain plant dwells the rest of the town and the company has its own frozen-food sector for McCain (fries) since 30. The two brothers were not different religions in their life like the laugheries. Harrison says that he is Presbyterian, while Wallace is Anglican. That difference may not mean much, however. As an friend observed, "They were both businessmen. They wanted one goal, the goal of the profit."

Wallace only began to emerge from his brother's shadow five years. In April, two months after Wallace was 40, he began that Harrison made law second of several strategies to remove him as co-CEO, they were jointly introduced into Canada's Business Hall of Fame. As a black tie dinner in Toronto, where Bank of Nova Scotia chairman Geoff Blackie presented the honor, the brothers dropped no hint of their rift in brief acceptance

speeches. In early August, just days before his lawsuit was filed, Wallace talked to *The Financial Post* in what his son Michael says was his first such interview in 25 years.

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## MCCAIN FOOD REVENUES



He and might be identified as the person who in the future should succeed," said the statement. Harrison McCain did not wish Michael McCain to be that person. Michael, one of Wallace's four children, oversees McCain's U.S. market operations from a base in Chicago. Although he has been reported by some as the eldest succession candidate, he said, "I don't think that he is not pushing for the job." Later, McCain said, "I've got five kids. The just built a new house," he said, "I don't want the job right now."

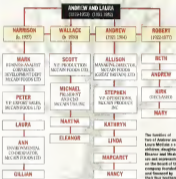
Wallace's court statement details several proposals the brothers made to each other to settle their disagreement, none of them acceptable to both. Now Wallace is asking the court to allow him to keep his present job at McCain or taking that to divide the company in half, giving both brothers an equal share.

Harrison, for his part, issued a brief press release noting that "the fact remains that Wallace and I are two businessmen in our 60s running a \$4-billion enterprise that is in great shape. To make sure that it stays that way in the future, we need to find a new CEO to take over. It's our job as brothers. There are lots of reasons. Three families that include most of the shareholders think so. Wallace's family has a different opinion. I have reconsidered myself to changing my role in the company. I think it's time Wallace did too. The issues will get settled through negotiation or a legal process as both and we will start looking for a new CEO. We want the best person for the job from inside or outside the company, it doesn't matter. We just want the best."

The release, however, is not clear about Harrison's plans. Wallace's statement says that Harrison intends to remain chairman. And despite the name of his press release, said that he is not planning to retire. "That isn't what I have in mind," he told *Newsweek*. "But I've got to find some time to look. I want to write a book about business." He said that he has invested himself in the idea of "giving a guy or two to run this company, who are 45 or 50 years old, either from 60 or 65. I would just be the right thing to do."

Before 2001, solving the succession issue, as far as any other company problem, was a matter for the two brothers who were equal partners in the business they founded. But in that year, in a statement of intent, he and Harrison agreed to appoint one of their sons and nephews, plus a longtime employee, to the board of the family

## THE MCCAIN FAMILY TREE



The families of  
Wallace and Laura  
McCain are  
shown in this  
diagram. The  
names of the  
children and  
grandchildren  
are not  
included  
and shown  
by their  
names.

many good times together. As one early co-worker recently recalled from the days when the McCain brothers were employed by S.C. Inc., they did not act like typical living sons. "When they were well," recalls one early co-worker. "They were like troops, and loved hard work, long parties and fast cars. They thought nothing of staying up all night and then putting in a 16-hour day the following day." In a 1990 interview with *The Financial Post*, Harrison described how they got started. "Both of us are self-starters. Wallace is good at administration and purchasing. I did the bookkeeping. Both of us did the selling. You can always hire a guy to run the factory, but you've got to move it—like it or love it."

Michael McCain  
raising a family  
of four children  
in Chicago. "I  
don't want the  
job right now."

For two brothers who proved that they could do it, it was hard to maintain and keep it in a town so small that the McCain brothers in a major event, was a problem. The succession should be easy. But it is not. And, although for the partnership all the lawyers and public relations experts in the country may be able to get the McCains back together again.

BRUNDA DALGARSH with JOHN CROSBY in a feature on  
WOLFE Madsen in Minneapolis



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COVER

# Jitters down-home in Florenceville

'A ghost town if anything happened to McCain's'

Although Harrison and Wallace McCain pulled their battle for control of McCain Foods Ltd. into the national spotlight last week, residents in their idyllic home town of Florenceville, N.B. (population 690) went about their business pretty much as normal. Clouds of rumor rose from the sprawling McCain farms bordering the plant. Inside, Harrison and Wallace were themselves were still at work in their adjoining offices. Near the plant gate, workers wearing white coats and hairnets brushed time clocks. On the street, police buses ferried students to schools, which open in mid-August and then close again in September for a three-week Prince Edward Island vacation. When everyone closes in for the harvest that in their spare moments, local residents expressed worries that the family feud may destroy both the McCain's business empire and the town's way of life. Bruce York, a bus driver who worked at the McCain plant for 17 years, summed up the feelings of his neighbors. "This would be a ghost town if anything happened to McCain's."

Certainly, Florenceville, and much of New Brunswick, owes its prosperity to the two brothers. Although McCain Foods employs 1,000 people in the province, installing 1,000 in the Florenceville plant alone. "This

area more depends on McCain's. The company buys close to half of New Brunswick's annual potato crop for an estimated \$40 million. In Florenceville itself, signs of the McCain influence are everywhere: McCain Street, a hardware store's brick nameplate after Laura and Andrew McCain (the parents of Harrison and Wallace) and, under by side on a hill overlooking the Saint John River Valley, the spacious homes of Harrison and Wallace. The front of Harrison's house features a row of five second-story dormer windows.



Florenceville: the family's influence is everywhere

Wallace's house, to the right, has a patio with six large white pillars. Near the houses is a small loading strip, where each brother keeps his private jet.

The company has grown into a global giant, but wages at the plant, where the employees still are not unionized, are only \$8 an hour. Yet low locals complain—and almost none of them begrudge the McCains their wealth. "The average person around here has no idea how big they are," says Mayor Fred Wells, who is also a teacher at Carleton Place High School. "What is the difference between \$1 billion or \$2 billion or \$3 billion? It's almost all of the numbers we enjoy around here are the result of the McCains."

The McCains have won that respect, in part, by staying close to their roots. Almost everyone in town can recall an instance when the McCains have helped them. Bruce York used have several years ago, Harry McCain shuttled three of York's grieving relatives from Toronto to Florenceville for a funeral. Tim Patterson, a hotelier who recently returned to the area after working in Toronto for 27 years and said that "it's not home" until he's in a McCain's. All of a sudden the construction machinery just arrives. How did it get there? He believes in a God, sort of, but not one with heavy machinery."

Virtually the only differences with the McCains cited by local residents are over politics. Wallace and Harrison are both Liberals. Harrison, who keeps a photograph of Pierre Trudeau in his office, was one of the leading Canadian business executives to speak out against the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. But Carleton County almost always retracts Conservatives in provincial elections.

Last week, however, the local residents seemed most worried that the feud between Wallace and Harrison may shift control of the company into the hands of younger family members—or outsiders—who might move its headquarters out of Florenceville. Tony Gaultin, 56, and his wife Shirley, 61, said that they feared for the future of their two daughters, who work in the McCain plant along with their husbands. The couple also chastised the McCain brothers for longspooning their differences against "the people should know," and Tony. "If the people's future that's involved" that for many of the people of Florenceville, it is not comfortable to have the quarrel and to see the open. The chance that their company may become a ghost town now is a palpable fear.

NEIL McBRIDE in Florenceville

COVER

# Passing the torch the Irving way

A tycoon fights the tax man from beyond the grave

Harrison and Wallace McCain received their apprenticeships at the feet of a legend—K. C. (Kenneth Colin) Irving, the Saint John tycoon who left a New Brunswick-based oil, forestry, media and transportation empire valued in the billions when he died last December at age 89. (Harrison managed Irving gasoline stations, Wallace oversaw an Irving hardware store chain.) And even now, there are undeniable similarities between the way the McCains and the Irvings do business. Both families, after all, started small to build big business empires. Both run secretive family dynasties, tacitly owned operations. Both have resolutely stood to selling back, essential commodities. Yet if the battle over who will eventually run their companies is any indication, the McCain brothers ignored some of their early mentor's examples. Indeed, the public jockeying between the McCains contrasts sharply with K. C.'s carefully crafted plan, enacted from be-

yond the grave, that is designed to ensure that his three sons keep the Irving empire running the way he wished.

The degree of his resolve was apparent in Irving's last will and testament, filed in the Superior Court of Bermuda only in August, eight months after his death. The bald, bumpy forehead he left a personal estate of just \$490,000, most of which went to his widow. Wounded. The bulk of his holdings, worth an estimated \$7 billion, were left in a Bermuda-based trust, administered by Wanstall, who was his second wife and her secret secretary, and two lawyers, one in Bermuda and the other in New York City. His sons, James, Arthur and John, all in their 40s, can become trustees, and therefore have a say in how the trust assets are administered, only if they cease being residents of Canada, a status the elder Irving maintained throughout the last two decades of his life. By becoming non-residents for tax purposes, they can help run the trust, and the business, under Bermuda's tax laws, which are much kinder than Canada's. "The

strategy here was clear," says a Toronto tax lawyer familiar with the Irving organization—insulating assets so that the two major issues clearly from one generation to another.

The Irving strategy was equally predictable, and highlights a major difference between the new New Brunswick enterprises. While the Irving operations are largely confined to the Maritimes, but largely from a Maritimes tax haven, the McCains have ventured far and wide but kept their headquarters at home. Harrison McCain, in his words a "intellectually-center liberal," asserts that he has no aversion to paying his fair share of taxes in Canada. Irving's fear and hatred of the tax man always can deep. In fact, the opening of his first business station in St. John's, the day later on New Brunswick's east coast where K. C. was born in 1899, the managing growth of his empire was partially fueled by the somewhat dark but reportedly attack with provincial and municipal governments for tax concessions.

When the province threatened to bring a succession claim in 1971, Irving and his first wife, Hattie, filed Saint John, N.B., his operational headquarters, for the Fisheries tax haven of Nova Scotia. A year later, they settled in Bermuda, another tax haven that boasts one of the highest rates of legal income in the world on its 21 square miles. There, K. C. purchased a \$2.5-million estate—a place he only reluctantly visited to fulfill tax requirements. Over the years, K. C. named Saint John as often as possible, staying in a sometimes controversial, but under his time in Canada, in order to legally reduce his estate. K. C. even died in Saint John, but as paper, at least, the Irving empire was now secured by a group of Bermuda-based holding companies, all of them owned, in turn, by K. C. himself.

Ultimately, though, a common commitment of the sons to K. C.'s wisdom may be a more important factor than legislation in ensuring the Irving empire's long-term legacy. Any internal differences among K. C.'s sons and grandchildren have clearly been subordinated to the pursuit of their common goals. In that regard, the Irving family's enterprise is a far cry from the family of the Irvings, who have the heart of the trust after the Irvings, in 1980, launched an invasion of the Maritimes by/for/industry via Irving-owned Cornish Farms Ltd. The battle between New Brunswick's powerful families drew much of the public's attention to the fray before the financial realities of the recession forced the Irvings to sell their glass-walled or broken shanty to build a potato-processing plant across the Trans-Canada Highway from the McCain's Grand Falls plant. But the struggle demonstrated that the Irvings, at least in public, concern their cooperative conduct on anti-trust competitors and not, like the McCains last week, on internal disputes.

JOHN DEWITT in Miramichi

James (left), Arthur and John Irving (right), Arthur and John Irving (right) from his will



ARTIST

# Divided dynasties

Fights over family fortunes usually leave deep scars

*Although they have almost all the material comforts that money can buy, many of Canada's wealthiest families have been split by bitter feuds over control of their family businesses. Over the next 100 years, the new estate laws will force even more families to split their assets. A survey of some of the wealthiest families.*

## THE GERSTEINS

On July 29, Martin Gerstein, the son and the founder of Peoples Jewellers Ltd., gained his revenge over his nephew Irving, whom he accused of running Canada's largest jewellery chain into the ground. "This was a company that my father built and his own sons could not destroy," Gerstein told reporters. Gerstein, who owned one-third of Peoples' common shares, refused to sign a plan that would have transferred the company's \$200-million debt and allowed it to continue operating. He was plagued by Peoples into bankruptcy, and allowed veteran Ilii Street bankruptcy trustee David Scott to buy the company the next day for the bargain price of \$77 million. However, Gerstein said that he had no regrets about relinquishing family control to the Montreal Irving family, who bought Peoples' shares and president in February, and his financial advisers for the disastrous 1994 takeover of Texas-based jeweller Zale Corp., which led to the family company's downfall. Gerstein was also furious about being ousted from the board of directors last December. "There's not a single letter on the board," he said. "I was a devoted good merchandise in my time and that's what this company needs."



Charles Woodward: a painful split between cousins

## THE BRONFMANS

Beginning as bookkeepers in Manitoba during U.S. Prohibition in the 1920s, Sam and Allen Bronfman built the Montreal-based Seagram Co. into the world's largest distiller. But the successful Sam Bronfman owned his more polished younger brother—and often needed him cruelly behind his back. On one occasion during the Second World War, after Allen enrolled in an officer training course in Montreal, Sam reportedly remarked: "A few more like him and Hitler's got a chance." In the 1960s, in a series of carefully plotted corporate manoeuvres, Sam squeezed Allen's two sons, Peter and Edward, out of the family business, turning over control instead to his own two sons: Charles and Edgar. Strong by the reputation, Peter and Edward built a corporate empire of their own, the Bronfman group of companies. Although the group has suffered some sharp setbacks since the past three years, it still controls London Life Insurance Co., owning part Normata Inc. and dozens of other companies. However, almost all a century after Sam and Allen founded the two branches of the family still rarely speak to one another.

## THE WOODWARDS

Ever since Charles Woodward opened his first department store in Vancouver in 1882, the Woodward name has been synonymous with retailing in Western Canada. But a bitter family dispute and the 1996 1991 recession finally destroyed what the family patriarch created. The Woodward retailing empire began to unravel in 1985 when Great (Woody) MacLean, president of Woodward's Ltd. and cousin of Woodward's chairman Charles (Chubby) Woodward, launched a take-over bid. Even though Woody was backed by CIBC and Firstview Corp. Ltd. of Toronto, which wanted the firm's real estate assets, Chubby managed to outmanoeuvre his cousin and ultimately defeated him in court. But after that the family remained embittered and divided—and the stores began to lose money. To make matters worse, Chubby sold off the company's assets at a dizzying pace over the next three years. He retired in 1988, and just two years later, at 66, he died of a heart attack. That left his son William, 34, and Christopher, 28, to save the company. But they were unable to overcome the recession. Last May, Woodward was sold to a consortium led by the Endicott's Bay Company—ending a century-old tradition. In one of his last interviews, Chubby reflected on the feud that triggered the firm's downward spiral. "That was disappointed," said Chubby. "It split family against family."

Three years after Harold Ballard died, the co-owner of the Toronto-based owner of the Toronto



Harold and Yolanda Ballard: a legacy of brotherhood

to Maple Leafs is still creating legal headaches for his children, his former business associates and his creditors. In his will, Ballard directed that all the assets of his personal holding company, Harold E. Ballard Ltd., including its 60-per-cent controlling stake in Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd., be sold and the proceeds turned over to charity. But the

year before Ballard died, his son Bill had sold his own ownership of the holding company, which had been held in a three-way trust. Bill had sold Mary Elizabeth and his brother Harold Jr. Ballard bought back control of Mary Elizabeth and Harold Jr.'s stakes in 1989, but Bill refused to sell his one-third stake back to his father and argued that the deal with Harold Jr. was improper. After Ballard died, Bill pressed on with the lawsuit against Gardens chairman Steve Seaton, the manager of his father's estate. Although Bill shelved his lawsuit in 1991, the estate has yet to sell the Gardens shares—and the charities have not received a penny. Meanwhile, lawyers for the estate are still working with Ballard's former companion, Yolanda Ballard, who has sold the estate for \$250,000 more than the \$20,000-a-year that he left her in his will.

## THE BIRKSES

For decades, Birks Jewellers' valved blue gift boxes have been a tradition at festive occasions across Canada. But in 1978, Desmond Gonsky as "Duncane" Birks sold sole control of the jewelry firm that had been in his family since 1870 by separating out cousin

Robert Birks in an ownership dispute. Desmond then proceeded to promote his three sons, Jonathan, Thomas and Barry, to senior positions in the company. That dispute led to another ownership struggle. In 1989, Thomas Birks offered to buy out his two brothers that under the conditions of a 1988 so-called shotgun agreement among the three, the other brothers then had the right to make the same offer to Thomas. In the end, both Thomas and Barry agreed to sell out and leave the business. Jonathan, the eldest of the three, instead no time in replacing his brothers as Birks' board of directors with such corporate heavyweights as Toronto financier Conrad Black. He also filled the stores with glibly, expensive merchandise designed to appeal to young, affluent customers. But Jonathan's gamble backfired when his economy slowed into a recession, sending the chain with merchandise it could not sell and debts it could not pay. Last January, Birks filed for protection from his creditors. In April, Birks' giftware maker Bergsonville SpA paid \$60 million to pick up the remains of the jewelry chain, quietly rolling 134 years of family ownership.



Alfred J. Billes: blocking a sale by his children

## THE BILLESSES

For Alfred J. Billes, the forty founder of the Canadian Tire Corporation, it was a question of loyalty and tradition. But his law has three children, all of them devoted to a question of money. In 1988, Billes, who founded the hardware-and-auto-supply firm in 1917, got wind of some disturbing news. His two sons, Conrad and Alfred W. Billes, and his daughter, Martha Gardner, were planning to sell their 69.9-per-cent controlling interest in the family firm to a group of Canadian Tire dealers for \$300 million. Billes, who had already closed one headquarter's office out of the company, was not about to allow other family members to sell what he had worked so hard to build up. He summoned his children to a meeting in his Toronto apartment to resolve the issue—but it quickly turned into a verbal brawl. Martha, when he once described as a "red-blooded cow," stormed from his house, to use his words. The takeover battle, he told Alameda that he expects his children will eventually sell out. "I don't they have the right to sell," said A. J. "But mostly they do not."

## THE STEINBERGS

There was always a job for a family member at Steinberg Inc., Parkdale too many. Sam Steinberg immigrated to Montreal with his mother Lisa from Hungary and in 1950 she opened a small grocery store in



Miri Steinberg-Dobos

the heart of the city's Jewish district. He took over in 1930, and Steinberg Inc. eventually grew into a giant grocery retailer with annual sales of \$1.5 billion. As it grew, Sam Steinberg involved dozens of relatives in the company—including his daughters Evelyn, Marilyn and Miri. He died in 1978, and in 1986, after leaving the helm of one Steinberg's troubled subsidiaries, Miri threw herself into the operation of the family food funds, which were being run by Evelyn and Marilyn. Their disagreements were in-

evitable for control. As they fought, the firm began to lose money. Stores were closed and employees dismissed. Quebec Provincial Richard Roussin called for an end to the layoffs. But as the firm's troubles mounted, pressure to sell increased. In 1989, a group of investors led by the province's powerful Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec purchased the supermarkets for \$250 million. But the wounds within the family may take years to heal. "I'm a fighter," said Marilyn, "and Miri is a fighter, too."

## THE BALLARDS

Three years after Harold Ballard died, the co-owner of the Toronto-



# McCain wars: end of a family firm

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Introduce the families ahead of us as the theory goes. Last week's dramatic lawsuit by Wallace McCain against his brother Harrison may another one of Canada's great families, turning Florenceville's once-peaceful Riverstone Drive, deep in the heart of New Brunswick, into an armed camp.

Knowing the McCain brothers personally and having been exposed to their steely-eyed determination to turn their little potato chip plant into a world-wide enterprise—mainly by being stubborn enough to make a male heir—chances are that the \$3-billion food empire will now be sold to some faceless multinational. That would be a shame.

There have been McCains in the Saint John River Valley since the 1830s. The family belongs to the place, just as it belongs to them. It was here 75 years ago that the local school teacher, Laura Blanche Perley, met Andrew McCain, who had started exporting food products to Kingston, a small marketing firm. McCain in 1882 when he was 30, and was used—once there—about the lack of the family company's succession provisions, wondering which of her children's children should be awarded. "So many farmers make a grave mistake," she told me, "involving marriage in her own family." But if they're boy or girl business with them, they forget that day'll be the wedding, and they had better let that boy get into the river circle so he can carry on. So many men forget that day'll not live forever and that the boys better know all about it." Her own husband had died without a will and she had to administer the estate herself, only to find the company's debts, driving away all of the three-branching enterprise men's assets, including her face and the children's.

After June the fact that the McCains have always prided themselves on being an integral part of their community and a dominant force within the larger culture of Central New Brunswick, they have now a highlighted position entirely suited to their Presbyterian up-

*Chances are that the \$3-billion food empire will be sold to some faceless multinational. That would be a shame.*

bringing I remember Harrison telling me in 1982, when his company's sales had just topped \$1 billion, about how he had received an abrupt, unceremonious flight beside a high-powered executive from International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT) who kept bawling about his extensive and complicated executive management network. The McCain brother modestly described his international operation: the company firm had 28 facilities on three continents, employing 7,000 and "but the long-term American a bottle of champagne that he couldn't guess how many executives it took to administer an empire. Figuring Harrison was much too confident sounding to share much authority, the ITT vice-president figured that a contingent of about 40 might be just enough to run the global food firm. A delighted Harrison McCain slapped his knee, and shot back: "Well, I work at it part time and so does my brother—and that's our total international staff!" (Harrison at the time was spending 150 days a year away from New Brunswick and his private jet was the only aircraft in the history of lighter-than-air flight that connected monthly from Florenceville directly to Amsterdam.)

The current McCain debate raises more larger issues about the continuing viability of family dynasties in an age when most corporate conglomerates have become so mean as they are lean, and the comfortable—if sometimes patronizing—ways of a group such as mine seem vaguely old-fashioned and out of place.

This country was built on the evolution of family firms into national institutions—Eaton's, Massey-Harris, Southern's Birkens—companies once at the forefront of their trades that watched their fortunes fall but at the same time learned an atmosphere of caring for their employees and sharing with their communities. The idea of the family business was based on faith as much as on economics, with the family need being passed through generations, linked to the essential life force of each enterprise. That's a hard quality to define and harder still to reproduce.

At its best, the family firm became a kind of community trust. Because the people who lived in the surrounding community were the same as the people who worked there, an automatic trust tolerance was set up. Family managers tried to be extra hard and long before laying off their neighbors, and the neighbor in turn would be extra hard and long before organizing themselves into militant unions. Whatever its faults—and the main one was the clear absence of accountability—the system did work well as far as more than that its opposite, businesses run by a faceless multinational firm that watches together with the weather.

Yet no matter how appealing the idea of the family enterprise might be, its reality has become a degraded currency. Too often the third generation sons and daughters simply don't possess the hunger to make good that which had propelled the firm's founding. In their limited of moving in new directions, they have marked time, confident that their inheritance was guaranteed to throw off abundant profits forever.

It's only when you investigate the detailed history of Canadian success that you realize how many local enterprises once flourished in this country, and how quickly they've disappeared. Ted Lindsay, a journalist who once lived and worked in Oshawa, recently recalled that six little Oshawa towns on the shores of Lake Couchiching once could boast of a prominent manufacturing base. Its factories were owned by names that have long vanished from conversation but at the time they were substantial people running substantial assets. The names he recently included J.B. Thillip, J.B. Thillip, R.J. Swindell, C.J. Miller, K. Long, W. H. Crowder, James and Sam Bailey, Alexander Bentley, William Carson, M. Tupper, D. C. Thompson, D. H. Church, A. J. Wright, M. W. Haskett, George Wile, J. H. Ross, C. H. Hale and T. B. Cowg. These names and so many places were so important to the economic fabric of the region.

Now, they count for nothing. If the McCains don't sell their food, they'll suffer exactly the same fate.



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# 'Oh my God, it could be me'



In the nearly five years since her diagnosis, 33-year-old Evelyn Hildebrandt has suffered the symptoms common to many carriers of the HIV virus: diarrhea, swollen lymph nodes, headaches and a general aching fatigue. But the Vancouver native has also experienced gynecological changes that she does not understand; and she has had hair and leg pain, a symptom that seems to be common among women with the virus, she says, but one that has not been studied. Hildebrandt has also encountered a health-care establishment that is accustomed to dealing with HIV and AIDS among gay men. "Once, I was having blood work done and a lab technician said to me, 'You're not here—I'm HIV-positive.' I would get a pin and shoot myself," says Hildebrandt. "I was completely floored." Women nurses and technicians "could hardly bring young gay

## AIDS is striking a growing number of Canadian women

men," she adds. "But when a young woman comes in, it's suddenly real and personal and 'Oh my God, it could be me'."

For a growing number of women, HIV and AIDS are immediate and personal and very real. The World Health Organization predicts that women will make up half of the new HIV and AIDS cases by the year 2000. Most of them will be in developing countries. But AIDS is taking an increasing toll among women in Canada, as well—about 24 new cas-

es reported in 1985 to 66 new cases in 1991. According to the latest figures issued by the federal Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, a total of 436 women aged 15 and over have developed AIDS since 1981—an average of one AIDS case in the country. And although the centre does not collect accurate statistics for HIV infection, Dr. Mervin Berketsky, the centre's medical epidemiologist, says that national studies—anonymous tests of discarded blood samples to determine the HIV status of pregnant women—indicate that AIDS is a growing problem.

Preliminary results in Newfoundland were particularly alarming: of 5,200 women tested, nine were HIV-positive—and most of them came from a single health unit in eastern Newfoundland. Meanwhile, independent of that study, health officials have found 10 HIV-positive cases in the Capetown Bay re-

gion—25 of them young women. Newfoundland, says Berketsky, "is the last place in Canada where I would have guessed an AIDS epidemic could happen." The cases, adds Dr. Faith Stratton, Hildebrandt's director of this unit, confirmed that this is a disease that can very easily be spread among the general population.

Until recently, most women diagnosed with the HIV infection in the United States were intravenous drug users. But in Canada, where the drug problem is less severe, heterosexual activity has always been the highest risk factor for women. In both countries, officials say, diagnosis of women is frequently delayed. "The first problem is that AIDS is often not suspected," Berketsky says. "If a gay man walks into a doctor's office and says that he is tired and has lost weight, the doctor will immediately suspect AIDS. If a woman walks in and says she is tired and lost weight, the doctor may not think of it."

As well, while many symptoms and AIDS-related diseases are the same in men and women, there are differences. In particular, says Dr. Catherine Hankins, a Montreal public health epidemiologist, HIV-positive women are more likely than men to have the virus in reproductive physiological complications, pelvic inflammatory disease, vaginal yeast infections and abnormal Pap smears that respond poorly to treatment. Among AIDS-defining diseases, women more often have Kaposi's sarcoma, a skin cancer common among male AIDS sufferers. They do not get more herpes, yeast infections or the respiratory and extreme weight loss.

About a year ago, Evelyn Hildebrandt suddenly developed multiple vaginal infections and throat infections, as well as allergies. But only after telling her doctor a couple of times that she had been in an HIV risk situation (she will not say what that was) did her doctor agree to test her. "She did not want to play games," says Hildebrandt. "She reassured me that I wasn't at risk, she tried to calm me," he said. Hildebrandt says that she was diagnosed early for a woman—in early 1989, just one or two years after she was infected. A year after her diagnosis, Hildebrandt met a man at a science fiction club—"It's pretty bad," she says. She told him about her HIV status on their second date. "He said the disease was scary but not scary enough not to pursue the relationship," says

Hildebrandt. Three years ago, they were married. "It's been kind of difficult. At the same time that we're trying to build a marriage and work through all the things couples have to work through, we are also trying to come to terms with the disease. Our house life is often all water, a lot of laughter and a lot of tears," she says and has based one side table position, she says, but even that can have an emotional up-pick. "Trying to use a burner is a reminder—it becomes a symbol of the disease."

Hildebrandt quit her job as a claim examiner with a health insurance company last year because of fatigue and other HIV symptoms. Recently, her T-cell count—an indicator of immunity—has been falling. And a friend, diagnosed at about the same time, came down with debilitating pneumonia, the friend recovered, but "I got me feeling miserable," says Hildebrandt. She is also concerned about who will care for her. She has read that 90 per cent of women with disabilities or illnesses are abandoned by their wives. "It's not comforting that the more I become, the more likely I could be abandoned," she says, adding that when she discusses it with her husband, he is upset that she would even think he "could be one of those."

In fact, part of what distinguishes HIV-posi-

itives, they do not want to risk losing their jobs, or risk the stigma of being infected, if their status is known, say they will tend not to seek out for services.

Juan and Randy Connors of Burnsville, N.S., both infected with HIV, were public with their story, but only after they discussed the decision. So far, says Juan Connors, 33-year-old Guy had plenty of support from friends and relatives. Juan contracted HIV from Randy, a homophile who got the virus through blood products. Randy Connors recently received compensation from the Nova Scotia government. Now, the couple is willing to come in terms with Guy's future. "We still hope we'll be there for his high-school graduation, his university, his marriage," says Juan Connors, 37. "That it's surprising to think we'll probably miss out." They are making plans to have children, but only after they "do a lot of pushovers," she says. "The goal of leaving life through death before we have to, of not being able to take care of him, of not having the energy to be the kind of parents that we wanted to be." She also says thought of trying to make Guy say the "we trust it" line, "it wasn't harder than an exam," she says, saying to Guy, "You're stupid, joking things, trying to protect him, trying to make this as easy as we can."

For some women, it is not the responsibility but the absence of family that is most difficult. "Gay men have a lot of social support," says Hildebrandt. Even if they are sometimes rejected by their families, she says, "they can talk to other men who've gone through the same situation. Our women can't talk to anybody." That problem is especially acute in smaller communities that, unlike major centres, do not have networks of HIV-positive women.

One Winnipeg woman, who asked to remain anonymous, has been attending an HIV support group, but all the other members are gay men. "I just don't feel a part of them," she says. "The guys have got each other, even if they don't have a family." The woman's own family visits her infrequently, she says, and some of them will not let her teach their children. Now nearly 60, she has a good watch at her hip on the streets—she is one of the minority of Canadian women who contracted HIV through intravenous drug use, although the state that she has been infected for three years. "I want to live longer I do, and remember everything," she says. But there remains an added stigma attached to her condition. "It's hard that the beautiful thing is a little bit of sympathy—but we still are to blame," she says. "The disease itself isn't as bad as the loneliness and being ostracized. I just wish people would understand that we're not dangerous, we're human, we're lonely."

MARY NEMETH with SEARON DOOLE  
Illustration by Trevor



Testing blood, Hildebrandt (opposite): differences in men's and women's symptoms

live women from their male counterparts is not, Hildebrandt, but social. "They want to be good mothers and partners," says Joan Allen, coordinator of the Women and AIDS project in Nova Scotia. "If their partner is HIV-positive or has AIDS, women tend to take better care of their partners than themselves." And her infected parents, especially single mothers, concern about anonymity could pose a barrier to seeking support. Says Montreal's Hankins: "Many of these women are sole

# Kias, clothes and conformity

## Teens fashion their back-to-schools looks

Carlene Haddoworth will be walking tall in the halls of Regina's Thelon Collegiate next week. With three-inch platform shoes, a bright striped shirt, brown leather vest, bell-bottom pants and four gold rings on her fingers, the 16-year-old, seventh-year student has enough image-consciousness to take on Grade 12. She is a confirmed fan of "retro-chic"—also known as House style, after a type of dance music—fashions that revolve back from the late 1960s and early 1970s. But she admits that it can be hard to pull off the latest look in Regina. "Problems at my house come later here," says Haddoworth, 17, who recently joined three friends in an eight-hour trek to Calgary for a shopping spree. "Toronto ends up looking more modern." Most of the time, she spends at least half of her McDonald's earnings—about \$300 per month—on clothes, but that percentage jumps in the winter and runs up in school. "Everyone," says Haddoworth, "wants to come back with a fresh look."

For Canadian teens of means, riding through malls for cool clothing is just part of the seasonal ritual of returning to classes. This year, the back-to-school fashion scene means lots of color-coordinated baggy baggy or lively frocks and shirts that harken back to the days of Edwardian studies. Although T-shirts and jeans retain some status as fashion staples, it is the wackier wear that sends many students into stores. "They march that credit cards, leggings, striped t-shirts, shoes and orange crushed-satin dresses and jackets. Let parents preach about dress-less classes. Kids want clothes that are truly different—designed to become obsolete within a season or two. In many cases the clothing matches musical tastes, reggae fans wear the bright colors and caps of Jamaica, while those favoring grunge rock sport old baggy and plaid shirts. What is similar, though, is the price: students can easily drop hundreds of dollars to put together a single outfit. "A lot of details go into each look," says Louise Tupper, who oversees about 100 of L.A. Papaya and Say Store in Nova Scotia. "If you want everything, it can start to add up."

It can also raise sagging questions about priorities. While some students hold parent jobs to help their financially strapped families, others earn money to come to keep up with the latest clothes—wading into a sea of competition. Parents and teachers also grapple at the more rebellious influence: how to limit. Some dress and T-shirts, while those favoring grunge rock sport old baggy and plaid shirts. What is similar, though, is the price: students can easily drop hundreds of dollars to put together a single outfit. "A lot of details go into each look," says Louise Tupper, who oversees about 100 of L.A. Papaya and Say Store in Nova Scotia. "If you want everything, it can start to add up."

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## BUILDING A HOUSER STYLE

**RETRO HAIR:**  
Short, thick, cut out or long and straight, often dyed.

**DRAMATIC UPSTICK:**  
For that party-bustling look.

**TOP:**  
Striped, ribbed, long-sleeved. Think any way you want, with names of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, 2010s, 2020s, 2030s, 2040s, 2050s, 2060s, 2070s, 2080s, 2090s, 2100s, 2110s, 2120s, 2130s, 2140s, 2150s, 2160s, 2170s, 2180s, 2190s, 2200s, 2210s, 2220s, 2230s, 2240s, 2250s, 2260s, 2270s, 2280s, 2290s, 2300s, 2310s, 2320s, 2330s, 2340s, 2350s, 2360s, 2370s, 2380s, 2390s, 2400s, 2410s, 2420s, 2430s, 2440s, 2450s, 2460s, 2470s, 2480s, 2490s, 2500s, 2510s, 2520s, 2530s, 2540s, 2550s, 2560s, 2570s, 2580s, 2590s, 2600s, 2610s, 2620s, 2630s, 2640s, 2650s, 2660s, 2670s, 2680s, 2690s, 2700s, 2710s, 2720s, 2730s, 2740s, 2750s, 2760s, 2770s, 2780s, 2790s, 2800s, 2810s, 2820s, 2830s, 2840s, 2850s, 2860s, 2870s, 2880s, 2890s, 2900s, 2910s, 2920s, 2930s, 2940s, 2950s, 2960s, 2970s, 2980s, 2990s, 3000s, 3010s, 3020s, 3030s, 3040s, 3050s, 3060s, 3070s, 3080s, 3090s, 3100s, 3110s, 3120s, 3130s, 3140s, 3150s, 3160s, 3170s, 3180s, 3190s, 3200s, 3210s, 3220s, 3230s, 3240s, 3250s, 3260s, 3270s, 3280s, 3290s, 3300s, 3310s, 3320s, 3330s, 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10667s, 10668s, 10669s, 10670s, 10671s, 10672s, 10673s, 10674s, 10675s, 10676s, 10677s, 10678s, 10679s, 10680s, 10681s, 10682s, 10683s, 10

# Lost in space

A mission to Mars turns into a costly fiasco

It was the most sophisticated unmanned space vehicle ever built. Sent up nearly a year ago on a mission to study a distant planet, the \$1.28-billion Mars Observer functioned almost flawlessly—until last week. Then, just three days before the craft was scheduled to begin orbiting Mars, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) controllers abruptly lost contact. Technicians frantically sought to re-establish communications, but by week's end, they had failed to do so. While outside experts speculated that a technical glitch may have caused the crash to blow up, some NASA officials feared that the Observer had bypassed Mars and begun a silent voyage around the sun. Whatever happened, the mission's failure would be a major setback for interplanetary exploration—and for NASA itself. "We'll see a political fire storm," predicted John Lapadula, a space policy analyst at George Washington University in Washington. "NASA's programs



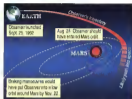
Mars Observer: "It's terrible, terrible, terrible!"

are not just in trouble; they are in jeopardy." The Observer's upstream fate could not have come at a worse time for the U.S. space program, which has suffered a string of costly failures. If all had gone well, the Observer eventually would have settled into an orbit 231 miles over the Martian poles and circled the planet for about 30 Earth months, taking photographs and studying the Martian environment as a preliminary step for any future manned flight. If the Observer mission proves to be a write-off, it will be painfully difficult to find funding for another mission. Congress, which reverts from its summer recess on Sept. 7, is searching for budget cuts to shrink the federal deficit of about \$400 billion. "How can Congress risk another billion dollars to send another probe to Mars?" asked Lapadula. "There are too many priorities here on Earth." At the very least, long delays seemed likely. A White House official who requested anonymity said that the space program might have to wait for President Bill Clinton's second term "to get the sort of funds that NASA needs to get back on track." Added an adviser to Senate Republican leader

Bob Dole, who also wished to remain anonymous: "The Americans people are growing tired of NASA failures. There isn't much support for big spending until the economic recovery speeds up and unemployment falls." The Observer's problem became apparent just as its rocket engines were being successfully pressurized to slow the craft and move it into an orbit around Mars. The onboard tanks, which had been closed down because of vibrations expected during parabolic ascent, could not be cranked up again. "It's terrible, terrible, terrible," moaned John Allen, a planetary scientist involved in the project. In the desperate hope that a minor technical problem was responsible for Observer's silence, scientists continued to contact the spacecraft, transmitting messages every 20 minutes and trying to reprogram computers and start backup systems—but to no avail. Despite the Observer's continuing silence, NASA officials said that the spacecraft's computers may have inadvertently put it into a Mars orbit. But if the craft was damaged, it was more likely to have drifted past Mars, into a wide orbit around the sun. That would leave a slim possibility that scientists could at some point regain control of the spacecraft. If they succeeded, they might be able to put it into orbit around Mars when it passes near the planet again in about two years. But many scientists, asking that the

problem occurred in the fuel tanks, were being pressurized, had already reached a more pessimistic conclusion: "Most probably there was an explosion," said John Pyle, a space policy analyst with the Washington-based Federation of American Scientists. "Our guess is Mars Observer could be in little pieces." or the Mars Observer went silent last week, scientists lost contact with a \$88-million weather satellite developed by NASA and launched on Aug. 8, they said the satellite probably suffered an electrical malfunction that rendered it useless. In the face of historic failures, politicians increasingly have begun to ask whether the agency has lost its touch. Many critics argue that instead of custom-tailored or large, complex projects, NASA should develop smaller, lower-cost space vehicles. "NASA wants to do big things," said Jean Johnson-Francis, a space analyst with the U.S. Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Ala. "Unfortunately, that sometimes backfires when an engineering glitch occurs." The agency's biggest current project is the \$25-billion space station, for which major components are being designed and built in Canada by Toronto's Spar Aerospace Ltd. and other firms. The station is scheduled to go into orbit near the end of the century. Can space approval funding for the scaled-down space station by a narrow vote in June. Now, pressure could develop as Congress to divert funding away from the station—unless the Mars Observer breaks its ominous silence and renews enthusiasm for costly and difficult ventures into space.

WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington



# "OH...I DIDN'T KNOW THAT..."

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## Where are the colorful characters?

BY TRENT FRAYNE

One soft evening in the spring of 2007, Turk Broda turned up in Stanley Park in Brandon, Man., wearing a pale blue leather jacket with a knitted collar and a white scarf with Toronto Maple Leafs stitched in blue on the chest. Turk sat on a park bench and a bunch of us kids gathered around and he answered all our questions about his first season of playing goal in the National Hockey League, and in this day, more than half a century later, I remember the feel of the smooth blue leather as I run my hand across Turk's muscled arm. He said all the Leafs had been given jackets like that to keep.

The other day, the sensational current goal tender of the Maple Leafs, 20-year-old Felix Potvin, was talking into a microphone on an all sports radio station in Toronto. He had been asked about a \$10-million contract his agent is seeking for him. The interviewer wondered if Potvin thought he was worth \$10 million for one season. Potvin shrugged. He didn't want to sound boastful, so around the microphone what other top goalkeepers were making—Grant Fuhr, Ed Belfour, Patrick Roy—all of them over an million. "We're not what happens," Potvin said a couple of times in his own voice. French-accented ringer. He didn't seem happy. Not like Turk Broda, anyway, talking about the Maple Leaf jacket he could keep.

Toddy's guys don't appear to find much joy in what they're doing as is what they've accomplished. They don't seem to have the pride of an earlier generation. King Clancy never stepped in contact in his life. "When I'm 19," he'd ask his old boss, "Come Sarge?" Jim Coleman used to tell a story of Red Dutton who, when he was playing for the old Montreal Maroons took so many penalties that his coach, Eddie Gorman, broke his Dutton was shocked. He resisted to Gorman's anger and demanded to be evicted if evicted.

"I'll put you back in the lineup, you can cut your finger," Gorman said.

"Finger," cried Dutton. "There's nothing

*Today's pros don't appear to find much joy in what they're doing. They don't seem to have the pride of an earlier generation.*

wrong with my finger. It's my retirement I can't control."

OK, OK, Red Dutton and King Clancy belong in mythology. But what of the Canadian? Broda just turned 45. He was the No. 1 all-star goalie in order in the 1970s. Broda is a mighty thoughtful man, a graduate in law, the author of two blockbuster books. *The Game* in 1993 and *Power Game* in 1995 co-wrote with Ray MacGowan. And he is now to give birth in a short book, *The Mind and the Stick*, which is not about this country's big moovers and shakers but about an ordinary guy in an ordinary job and the trials he faces in a dreary living in Canada these days.

Reflecting on his hockey career, Broda says that, when he and his Canadian teammates began making salaries in six figures, their greatest pleasure was still to get paid. "I said, 'No that time I said, and firmly believed, that it was fun just playing, just sitting around the dressing room. We just loved to play hockey.'"

I wondered where that lie had gone and the colorful characters, with it. I thought of Eddie Shore, the former Boston banger on defence, who used to come flying onto the ice just before the game in a flowing shiny black cape

a bright spotlight presenting him before pre-Internet Borman in the darkness arena. I told Broda that Ace Bailey had told me about the games the old Maple Leafs played on one mother's wooden floor, the kids cutting sticks in half or tying shoelaces together. After an 1811 scoring champion, had even been held upside down upside a hotel was down by his teammate Charlie Conacher.

Broda believes the current intense scrutiny of the media has curbed the extremists. "If Charlie Conacher had done that now with Ace Bailey it would draw national attention—days on television, pleasant radio, all that. Each story, a few guys laughed. 'That's great, Charlie.' Now people would say, 'That's child and guys would write that it's pretty stupid behavior. So colorful people get burned. They become more careful.'"

Changing times have made a difference. "Once the team was your group, your family. You spent hours and hours together," Broda noted. "Trains travelled by train, players camped in a Pullman car for 12 hours and more. Now it's an hour and a half on a plane. Also, players have more money, they go further in school, they have opportunities for other interests so that when practice is over they're more likely to go their own way than go out in a group of seven or eight guys. There's less opportunity for those old-time pranks."

Talk turned to Broda's former game, golfing. "I said goal was no longer a career for me anymore, among Jacques Plante, who used to bait taunts between periods. When Jacques was coached in Detroit, he was careful in pre-game conversations with the all-star goalie Terry Sawchuk. 'I need to sit beside him before we went on the ice,' Broda said. "Old chair has been successful, a little twist, over and over. I'd put my hand on his arm, and I'd talk quietly about anything but hockey."

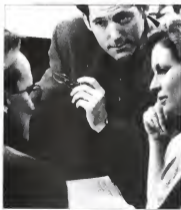
When young Gilles Gosselin played goal for the old Toronto Toros, he led a 10-minute program at halftime, before each game and practice, including a series of apologetic apologies. Dressed in full goaltending tuggery, Gosselin stood on his head in a shower stall and raised and lowered himself by his arms.

"Clay's the brains," explained Gosselin, 21 at the time, a middle-haired lad from Lacelle, Que. "Sometimes I bring the body to the rink but the head is somewhere else."

The executives have all but forsaken the under-20 and Broda points to technology. "With the equipment today the safest place on the ice is in goal. That's the position that turns the least serious players. The best made is literally modern hockey. Players such as Belfour, Roy and Potvin couldn't play as they do unless they knew their lines were protected. They can crumple way down, their faces lower and lower, except the puck so much better."

And so in hockey we've lost his goal-keepers—all the ice or an OJAT, sometimes again are making the athletes wretched beyond their dreams. Hardly anybody nowadays is showing off a new leather jacket. The one the team has been keeping.

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## Say it ain't so

**M**ichael Jackson, according to the popular imagination, lived in a fantasy world. He has preternaturally white skin and a high-pitched voice, and he lives on an estate named Neverland, that weird, that wonder world was rumored to be in Los Angeles, a 35-year-old boy alleged that Jackson, long involved in charity work for children, had sexually molested him. Police launched a child abuse investigation, questioning other children close to the 34-year-old singer and seizing videotapes and photos at Neverland. Jackson, in Thailand on his worldwide *Dangerous* tour, denied any wrongdoing, and his staff claimed that the allegations were part of an extortion plot. Indeed, in week's end police said they had no physical evidence to support the charges against Jackson. But the allegations damage to the reputation of one of the world's best-loved performers remain to be seen. One thing is clear: for Michael Jackson, the fantasy is over.

## Smeared campaign

**I**t's not your typical rock 'n' roll story. Four guys form a punkish pop band in Halifax, jokingly send a tape to a top U.S. label and land up a U-titled trailer for a disastrous cross-Canada tour in the spring of 1993. Along the way, they crash a van, arrive at cancelled shows and finally end up playing for only 30 people at Vancouver's Commodore club.



Murphy: 'Rocky duck American deal'

at that show, a representative from Los Angeles-based Def Jam Records came what he hears—and signs the band to a major record deal. Now, Sloan—comprising Chris Murphy, Jay Ferguson, Patrick Poitfield and Andrew Ferguson—is Canada's hottest alternative band,

selling more than 150,000 copies of their first album, *Smeared*, worldwide and kicking off a 31-city Canadian tour on Sept. 7. "It's all so ridiculous," says lead singer and bassist Murphy, 24. "This is the classic lucky-duck American deal." Despite the band's popularity and a thriving underground rock scene in Halifax, Murphy acknowledges that traditional music still holds sway there. "They like that Celtic stuff, the kind of music you play in the kitchen," he says. "It's nice to become known for punk."

## The Sweat and the Fury

**I**t was early August—and 42°C—in Oxford, Miss., and Peter Stuckey stood on the steps of Bowen Hall, the aristocratic mansion where writer William Faulkner had lived until his death in 1962. Stuckey, a University of Saskatchewan English professor, was reading to an audience of about 250 Faulkner buffs from "*Asunder* the Tanager," his winning entry in the fourth annual Peter Faulkner Contest. The first Canadian to win the contest, Stuckey, 37, had not about 250 competitors with his 500-word parody about—what else?—a dysfunctional



Stuckey: 'Faulkner'

mother family. As first prize, he won a trip to the Nobel Award's home town and two tickets to any American Airlines destination during 1993. The only hitch: the airline, a co-sponsor of the contest, lost his luggage on the way to Mississippi, and he had to wear the same shirt for two days. "I didn't have time to buy new clothes," Stuckey recalls. "There were some American Airlines postcards at the conference, and I think they were unobtainable." Generally, the airline extended Stuckey's ticket price to 1994, and America's little fox pen was resolved—no record.

## Role-model role

**N**ancy Salovey has created a TV persona with her portrayal of smart, hip women in ads for Japanese women and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, among others. Now, her role as a park warden in the new *Coast West Global* adventure series *Destiny Ridge*, which debuts in November, is in line with her concern for being a role model for women. "My character is very together," said Salovey. "She's a very independent, modern woman." Much like Salovey herself, who holds a degree in environmental sciences from Trent University in Peterborough, Ont. "I don't want to do the brimbo stuff," added the native of nearby Belleville. "You have choices, and in you make choices a way change one body's mind. It's not just women's lib—it's about people living together as people."



Salovey: 'Independent, modern'

# California screaming

A 'cyberpunk' has a 21st-century nightmare

VIRTUAL LIGHT

By William Gibson  
(Soft, 325 pages, \$24.95)

More than a few tech-  
no-punkers grumbled  
when, in 1991, William Gibson abandoned "cyberpunk," his imaginary world beyond the neon, poster screens. That year, after a series of three so-called cyberpunk novels starting with the groundbreaking *Countdown* (1984), Gibson made a startling departure: instead of reviving cyberpunk, he shifted to Victorian England with *The Difference Engine*, a wild tale co-authored by Bruce Sterling. But in his latest work, the Vancouver author has gone back to the future. In some respects, *Virtual Light* draws more from current technology than Gibson's enormously popular cyberpunk works, which explore the information age with the science-fiction attitudes of punk rock. Although the new book takes place in the next decade, it presents a world infused with late-20th-century technology. And Gibson seems more intent on giving readers a cutting analysis of the present than a bleak vision of the future.



Gibson portraying a world sloshing towards destruction

and the stolen property—whose original owner has been killed. With the help of some rebel hackers, the dynamic duo take on corrupt cops and a Central American drug and information cartel. They also discover love among the ruins.

Gibson's world 22 years from now is slowly sloshing towards destruction. California, divided into the toxic water states of McCal and SoCal, is in anarchy. Following is major earthquake, San Francisco's Bay Bridge has become a makeshift misery village—home to hundreds of squatters, including Cheviot Washington. The community has the feel of an anarchic carnival, with autos parked being drugs, video arcade and temporary bars during the briefest respite during

The entire Western world has degenerated into a disturbingly familiar wasteland where high-tech toys exist alongside poverty, violence, environmental devastation and

excessive greed. Television is a quiet war for the masses, who keep themselves otherwise amused with body-piercing, designer drugs and other forms of self-destruction. The tone of *slurricane* is set in the first chapter, in which a nameless out cast is a sacrilegious Meco City hotel room, quaffing Japanese vodka and watching Russian pornography. Outside, in the brownish air of the soggy city, the man sees "the dry flakes of fecal snow his loving is from the sewage flats."

Gibson has between the lines—the logical outcome of a despoiling present—and he is not amused. Yet some of the details of *Virtual Light* are highly amusing: Rife's hyperallergic partner, Joel Sollett, has fallen away from a video arc that believes God's word is revealed through Genesis. And Gibson's comments on the uses of technology are often subtly satirical in one scene a vacuum tries to move her dead husband's brain to a more luxurious cryogenic facility where it can stay intact in frozen genetic tanks.

Surprisingly, the author who has become a hero to computer hackers emerges in *Virtual Light* as a champion of the tech pessimists in the age of information. He allows the low-tech good guys to conquer the high-tech bad guys, and thoughtful analysis to test out glib genetic tests. But Gibson also seems to suggest that technology can save humans from the horrors wrought by their own technological wickedness. The strong character in *Neuromancer* who false married eyes as a hidden statement. In *Virtual Light*, such currents are hard to weed out in intense radiation from the sun.

As it comes readers along on its often gripping—if somewhat dense—narrative, *Virtual Light* does offer elements of hope. One character, James Spiller, carries a neon-like strain of art that essentially saves millions from dying of AIDS. Common sense and his own twisted sense to prevail over selfishness. And the creative urge that pushes society to wards the edge of destruction. Gibson implies, also has the power to save it. The hackers whose skills can undermine the foundations of Gibson's information-based society, in short, use their talents to help defeat the powerful forces seeking to control information.

Despite the futuristic jargon and the technological complexity of the world that Gibson describes, the novel's strength lies in how it evokes the age-old story of the battle between the forces of light and darkness. The evil force is never in doubt—the hackers and the forces will triumph. But Gibson leaves that his has results to have it any other way.

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ROYAL BANK

## TELEVISION

# True believers

Across the country, God comes in many forms

GOD'S DOMINION  
PG&C, Sept. 8, 10, 19, 26, 9 p.m.

Writers and thinkers have often described the late 20th century as a godless age. Yet a new CBC series suggests that many Canadians sense a restless hunger for the comfort and challenges of religion. The four-part, four-hour documentary special *God's Dominion* looks at Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Newagers seeking solace in the secular marketplace that informed journalist Ron Gribben's bestselling 1990 book of the same name. The series, hosted by Gribben, has almost nothing to say about the religious experience itself; how it actually feels to stretch for red fish God instead, professor Fred Renouveau. The Gribben in the book concentrates on the reasons people look up the search in the first place. As a result, *God's Dominion* suggests that one fifth is

put in good as another: they all provide a place where like-minded people can find a sense of meaning and community.

Godwin's link between strength and community—which the show's mission includes several times as much as *God's Dominion*. The series is founded on the notion that people find it easier to believe something if others around them believe (or profess to believe) exactly the same thing. Mass faith is reinforced by consistency of dogma—something that the Catholic Church knows well and has proscribed over the centuries in the first instance of *God's Dominion*, Catholicism is represented in part by *Notre-Dame*, Archbishop of Toronto. A severe conservative, *Antoine* wanders the gruff, unrefined worldliness of a banker in business as he rebuffs the calls of many Catholics for reform. Women, he believes, have no place in the Catholic priest hood. He supports his stand by arguing that

the feminist movement is still in its adolescence, and that women who argue for a greater role in the church are simply too immature to know what is best for them.

*Antoine's* crude paternalism has roused some opposition, at one point the camera pans over a small crowd picketing outside his church for more liberal policies. The pro-*Antoine* picketers are there too, as the archbishop knows, there will always be those who take the church's supplanting consistency as proof of its rightness.

Godwin's interviews with ordinary believers and doubters repeat a kind of old book, which crated his much on religious leaders. The TV series has a leader, more democratic edge, than the testimony of people like the former nun Lorraine Michael. "I no longer need the security of the church to know that I'm whole," she says. "To know that I'm loved, to know that I'm loved into something that's bigger than I am."

Michael's calm indifference is a rarity in the first two programs of *God's Dominion*, which concentrate on faith where a central authority rules many details of people's private lives. The second episode follows Anne Goldberg, a 25-year-old Montrealer who becomes a *Lebanese*—a member of a heavily patriarchal, deeply conservative brand of Judaism that demands abstinence in all circumstances. In the same program a 20-year-old Manitoba *Lebanese*, Saul Klemm, considers his options before committing himself to the birth of his first



Reluctant in Manitoba, finding a sense of community

children. *Lebanese* hold all property in common and follow the occupation chosen for them by the community's male leaders. Even more than the *Lebanese*, they must surrender their individuality for the sake of the common good.

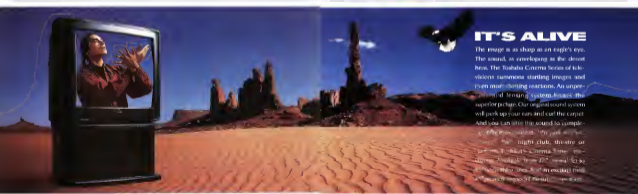
After the first two programs, with their depictions of older rules holding all the powers of authority, the final hour brings a welcome fresh view in the person of young United Church minister Moslem Moslem. The attractive young woman is struggling to revive a dying congregation in Northern Ontario. At home with her Jewish father (United Church itself gave black and white answers," she says apologetically, she faces conversion from her United Church minister. Mike Slater's long-time Congregational Church—a group discredited with the United Church's liberal position on homosexuality. The same episode looks at Alberta evangelist Mrs. McLeod, who believes that ordinary Canadians—not government—should be in the business of helping the poor and disadvantaged. McLeod is shown considering a therapy with severe psychological prob-

lems, though the material leaves the impression that the well-intentioned minister is out of his depth.

The program's most moving section concerns the attempt of a downtown Vancouver church to help the poor and homeless. As the down-to-earth, unadorned, mission workers move among drug users, drunks and prostitutes, they seem closer to the spirit of Christ's teaching than any of the other Christians in *God's Dominion*.

The final program is the most intimate and remarkable of the four. George Lewis is the many Canadians he has discovered that the mainstream churches cannot fill his religious needs. Instead, the middle-aged Ontario physician is following a path that has involved meditation, new-age knowledge, ceremonies, the Buddha's death, marriage counseling and prison therapy. At the same time, he experiences family breakup and professional failure. It is tempting to feel pity for his sometimes self-indulgent search for growth. New-age ceremonies are often embarrassing to watch, but his goodwill and courage are genuine. Of all the believers in *God's Dominion*, Lewis has ventured the farthest in the century's dark sea of confusion and doubt.

JOHN HENDERSON



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